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THE

ORIGINAL.

THE

ORIGINAL

BY THE LATE

THOMAS WALKER, M.A.

TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE,

BARRISTER AT LAW, AND ONE OF THE POLICE MAGISTRATES OF THE METROPOLIS.

FIFTH EDITION.

EDITED, AND ARRANGED UNDER DISTINCT HEADS; WITH ADDITIONS

BY

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"What does not society owe to the man, who, after protecting the laws for so many hours a day, gives up the residue of his time to the amelioration of politics and morals?"

HENRY RENSHAW,
356, STRAND, LONDON
1875.

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EDITOR'S PREFACE.

In about a month from this time, forty years will have elapsed since the first number of "The Original" made its appearance; and its author embarked on that literary enterprise of which the particulars are given, in his own words, in the first part of this work. He lived to issue twenty-nine numbers; and had the satisfaction of announcing to his readers, from time to time, that his labours had been appreciated not only by personal friends, but also by the public press. Many of his friends thank him for the amusement he affords; a lawyer and scholar applauds his good sense; a lady appreciates the religious, moral, and benevolent tone of his work; a man of high connexions compliments him on his sound sense, right feeling, and excellent language, and finds his description of Italy lovely; a country gentleman, who takes life very easily, has actually read the work twice over; and an author, celebrated for the wit and piquancy of his writings, acknowledges the services he is rendering to politics and morals, and wishes him all the success of the *Spectator*, *Tatler*, and *Guardian*. As to the press—he has been quoted often and copiously by the London and Provincial papers, and by many other periodicals.*

With these testimonials, private and public, to encourage him, I am not surprised that the Publisher of "The Original" should have thought it worth while to gather the weekly numbers into one volume, and to present them to the public in that convenient form; that the venture proved a success; or that, in course of time, three considerable editions were published and sold.

It was soon after the issue of the fourth and largest edition that I first made acquaintance with "The Original;" and found in its pleasant and genial pages the fullest justification for all that had ever been said in its favour. But this was not all. I discovered, if I was not greatly mistaken, hidden under a light layer of sparkling criticism, apt quotation, pleasant story, and witty saying, a rich mine of profound

* I have found his article on "Impressment," after a laudatory preface, reproduced word for word in a leading article of the *Times;* and a flattering review in the *Quarterly*, devoted chiefly to the "Art of Dining," ending with the expression of the "sincerest feelings of respect."

wisdom applicable to the practical business of life. In my eyes, the Humourist did but conceal the Philanthropist and the Statesman; and accordingly, at a later period, I offered to the Publisher certain suggestions tending to make this fact more clear to the general public; and also submitted to him that scheme of arrangement and classification of subject which will be found carried into effect in these pages.

This suggestion was made, and approved a few years ago; but for reasons which I need not here explain, the realization of the project was postponed until the present time. When "The Original," thus transformed, was brought out from the drawer in which it had so long slept undisturbed, I found that the scheme so embodied stood in need of very little alteration. I will explain it in a few words.

The present edition (the fifth issued by Mr. Renshaw, to whom the author of "The Original" entrusted the work of publication, if the first issue in weekly parts be counted as one) has been distributed into six distinct Parts, divided, where needful, into sections.

The first, or Introductory Part, in which the author's several addresses to the reader are brought together, constitute a highly interesting and instructive literary history. The addresses stand in order of publication, with only such slight omissions, and short connecting paragraphs of my own, as were needed to convert them into one continuous narrative of plans and experiences.

In the second Part, the four Arts of Life which the author of "The Original" treated with more or less of detail, are brought together, with additions of cognate matter. This Part contains the pleasant and instructive series of Essays on the *Art of Dining*, by which the author is best known; that on the *Art of attaining High Health*, of which the prevailing good sense is seasoned with a few exhibitions of credulity and eccentricity; and the *Art of Travelling*, to which more unqualified praise may safely be accorded. To this I have annexed his *Letters from the Continent*, containing that description of Italy which one of the author's friends found so lovely. A few needful alterations and transpositions, and an occasional foot-note, comprise all the interferences with this portion of the work which I have deemed it necessary to make.

Parts III. and IV., under the respective headings *Politics and Finance*, and *Social Science*, will be found to contain what I have ventured to call a rich mine of profound wisdom applicable to the practical business of life. I reserve what I have further to say on these portions of the work, and meanwhile remark of Parts V. and VI. that, under the respective titles of *Religion Morals and Manners*, and *Miscellanea and Sayings*, the reader will find such stores of amusement and instruction as are afforded by the pages of our older Humourists.

To the second of these Parts I have ventured to make a few additions, of which the most considerable is an Essay on the Poetry of Science, first published in *Fraser's Magazine* in the year 1849.

But it is to Parts III. and IV., and especially to Part IV., that I would refer the reader for a full justification of what I have said above of the profound wisdom applicable to the affairs of life which the author of "The Original" displayed in his graver essays; as well as for conclusive reasons in favour of the plan of the present publication. The sound Principles of Government, and the vital importance of maintaining small local machineries, set in motion by the worthiest, as the units of all governments on a larger scale, and especially as training schools for true statesmanship, will be found fully set forth in Part III.; and to this I have added two essays, one on *Paternal Government*, the other on *Government by Inquiry and Inspection*, as the form of government under which this nation is now living; and also a Dialogue illustrating the true composition and dangerous tendency of mobs.

It is, however, to the fourth Part of this work that I appeal as supplying the most complete vindication of the course I have adopted in remodelling "The Original." Here, under three subordinate sections, the topics that most nearly affect the condition of the lowest and most degraded portion of our English population are treated with the hand of a master. It is no speculative philosopher, no philanthropist of the study, that sets himself up as our teacher; but one who speaks with the authority derived from large experience. It is the Police Magistrate who, during six years has lost no opportunity of making inquiry into cases of alleged distress, and is prepared to give relief in no grudging spirit, if he finds occasion, who tells us that he did not meet with one real instance in which the applicant had not the means of more or less escaping from a state of want; that there is no such thing in this country as what may be called destitution out of some particular sphere of sympathy; and that, as to persons professing to have come to *London from the country*, and there to be reduced to destitution, he has not, during his six years of office, met with a single instance which was not one of imposition, and where his interposition was necessary.

Again, it is the man who has grappled with the "Monster Pauperism" in all its forms, agricultural, commercial, and mixed, in Devonshire, Herefordshire, Lancashire, and London; who has taken in hand a certain rural parish, and with infinite pains, unwearied patience, and rare skill, reduced the monthly outlay from 68*l.* to 13*l.*, and set on foot such a sound plan of operations that at length the local authorities contemplated abandoning the workhouse as unnecessary:—it is this man who unhesitatingly pronounces English poverty to be due

not to physical but to moral causes; who would repeal the Poor-Law, and discountenance indiscriminate almsgiving, and yet look forward to the result without the slightest fear or misgiving; for his perfect knowledge of all the facts of the case has cast out fear.

It is to this important Part, extending to nearly 150 pages, that I have ventured to make very considerable additions. These consist of eight supplementary essays on the Poor-Law, with suggestions which, if acted on, would lead to its ultimate abolition; six essays bearing on crime and its punishment, growing out of the author's brief notice of Prison Discipline; a short article on Railways; eight essays on Dole-giving and its results, on Mendicancy under some of its leading forms, modifications, and disguises, and lastly one on the question which the author of "The Original" in his last address to the public announced his intention of discussing, namely, "to what extent the injunctions in the New Testament with respect to almsgiving are applicable to the present state of things in this country."

These several additions, amounting, as I find, to upwards of eighty pages, or a fifth of the whole book, consist partly of original articles, partly of essays remodelled or rewritten, partly of short treatises into which I have introduced quotations from writings (some anonymous, some under the thin disguise of a *Nom de Plume*, some with name attached) that have been published at intervals during the last thirty years; for I find that my Lecture on the "Unhealthiness of Towns" bears date 1845 (the dawn of the Sanitary Movement, in which I bore an active part) and that my second Inaugural Address as President of the Statistical Society, was printed in December, 1874. The period of my greatest literary activity began, naturally enough, with the Sanitary Movement, and extended through the year 1848, and the few years that followed that anxious and critical period. It was, as I have said, some time prior to 1848 that I first made acquaintance with "The Original" and imbibed from its pages the strong impression I have ever since retained, that the vices of individuals contribute even more than errors of legislation to bring about that degradation of the masses which, in its turn, engenders "distress of nations with perplexity." Having singled out the personal vice of indiscriminate almsgiving, and our obstinate national adherence to a Poor law, as specially calling for condemnation, I embodied my views on these matters, and incidentally on other sources of poverty and destitution in a little work which I entitled "The Evils of England, Social and Economical. By a London Physician." Of this book, which owed its form and anonymous character to the advice of the well-known Publisher, John William Parker, of the Strand (to whose memory and to that of his

son I take this opportunity of paying a tribute of respect), I published a second edition in 1865.

In the Preface to the First Edition I stated that my object was to enter a strong and earnest protest against Mendicancy, under all its disguises; against Charities, in many of their forms; against Poor Laws, in every possible or conceivable shape; and against all kinds of waste; and in the Preface to the Second Edition, I referred the first publication of the work to the year 1848, "when France, tired of the dull life she was leading under Louis Philippe, indignant at his preference of family to national interests, and ready to run the risk of any change which should give her a chance of glory after the old homicidal fashion, with the pleasure of disturbing and perplexing the nations, and the profit of adding to her territories, drove out the Orleans dynasty." I then proceeded to point out how, true to her own precedents and Celtic instincts, she had proclaimed the new and startling theory of the "right to labour," embodied in the *Ateliers Nationaux*, and had also charged the extinct government with all the misery which the idle, vicious, and improvident part of her population had brought upon themselves.

At the same time, we here in England "were agitated and perplexed; and though the Chartists were put down on the memorable 10th of April, an angry feeling pervaded the working classes. They thought themselves oppressed by their employers, and the best of them sulked into Christian Socialism. But happily the Government had not set itself up as a Providence to the people, except by maintaining the Poor Laws, and so escaped with little damage to its character. Still the Celtic delusion, that the misery of individuals is always chargeable to governments, had spread among us, and was doing mischief." It was under a strong sense of the danger of this delusion, and with an earnest wish to dissipate it, that I then wrote, strenuously maintaining the opposite view, that individuals are really responsible for almost all the misery ignorantly attributed to the State; and especially that the vice of indiscriminate almsgiving indulged by one set of individuals is the true and direct cause of the crime of begging committed by another set; that the mendicant-thief community is the loathsome and dangerous product of a mean and disloyal self-indulgence, not a whit more reputable, and many times more mischievous, than intemperance itself; and the more to be deprecated inasmuch that it pretends to a religious sanction. I added that the experience of sixteen years had but lent force and fervour to these convictions; and that I could not bring myself to regret the strong expressions I had used in speaking of turnpikes, the pollution of our rivers and the waste of the sewage of our towns, the blockade of the

African coast, the study of Latin and Greek, debt, dole-giving and the Poor Law, charities in many of their forms, and trial by jury. As the main object of that work had been to promote to the place so long usurped by a spurious imitation of Mercy that noble and beneficent form of Justice which should be the strength and pride of nations, I felt that my views were so far in accordance with those of the author of "The Original" as to justify me in undertaking the present work. I may add that this is specially true of the opinions expressed respecting indiscriminate almsgiving and a Poor law, the chief difference being in the freedom with which I have spoken of the personal act as a vice, which even-handed justice would punish equally with begging itself. The close alliance of begging with thieving; its use in reconnoitering; the dangerous element of imbecility which enters into the composition of vagrancy; and the profound contempt of the mendicant-thief community for the giver of doles;—these are points in which I may claim to have added something to the admirable essays of the author. If, by thus bringing together the scattered essays of "The Original," and adding the results of my own inquiries, I succeed in strengthening the fast growing conviction that it is to these sources, more than to any others, that we may trace the degraded state of the English population, the pains I have bestowed will be amply repaid. For it is indisputable that this habit and these laws promote intemperance, disease, and crime, impair the strength and vigour of our people, and sap the foundations of morality and religion.

I have now only to state that the additions I have made, whether in the shape of foot-note, appendix, or independent essay, are throughout distinguished by brackets, thus [ ]; that the running headings to the pages, the Table of Contents, and the copious Index, are intended to make the work of reference easy; and that I have striven, by every means in my power, to do justice to "The Original" as a unique combination of all that makes the writings of our greatest Humourists a perennial source of amusement, with the sound sense and grave wisdom which should mark the labours of those who aspire to shape the thoughts of Statists, or guide the acts of Statesmen.

26, Gordon Street,
April 10, 1875.

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PART I.

INTRODUCTORY.

Containing the Literary History of "The Original," in the Words of its Author.

[On Wednesday, May 20, 1835, the author of "The Original" unfolded his plan in the following Preliminary Address:—]

Dear Reader,—

I address you without ceremony, because I do not like ceremony, and because I hope we shall soon be on intimate terms. I have long meditated this mode of introducing myself to your acquaintance, from a belief that it might be for our mutual advantage: for mine, by furnishing a constant and interesting stimulus to my faculties of observation and reflection; for yours, by setting before you an alterative diet of sound and comfortable doctrines blended with innoxious amusement.

It is my purpose to treat, as forcibly, perspicuously, and concisely as each subject and my own ability will allow, of whatever is most interesting and important in Religion and Politics, in Morals and Manners, and in our Habits and Customs. Besides my graver discussions, I shall present you with original anecdotes, narratives, and miscellaneous matters, and with occasional extracts from other authors, just as I think I can most contribute to your instruction or amusement; and even my lightest articles, I shall, as often as I am able, make subservient to the illustration of some sound principle, or the enforcement of some useful precept—at the same time rejecting nothing as too trifling, provided it can excite in you an antibilious sensation, however slight.

Aloof from sect and party, my chief and steady aim will be to satisfy the wants of those who thirst after the truth, and to excite a love of it, where a love of it does not now exist. Certain it is, the vast majority of human kind pass through life in ignorance of its inspirations. They flatter themselves indeed to the contrary, if they only do

not wantonly quit its path, or if in their zigzag course they sometimes cross or deviate into it, as party, sect, or narrow interest leads them; but alas! by the pure love of truth their actions are never guided. As long as the truth suits their purpose—well; but the moment it does not, they shut their eyes, or turn away. Look wherever you please, in public or in private, and you will find that it is so. Yet our holy religion again and again commands, and our worldly welfare, properly understood, unceasingly requires, that we love and follow the truth.

In conclusion I must tell you, that with regard to pecuniary profit as an author, I estimate that, as I do popularity in my capacity of magistrate. A desire for popularity has no influence on my decisions; a desire for profit will have none on my writings. I hunt neither after one nor the other. If they follow as consequences of a patient and fearless perseverance in the establishment of right,—well and good; I value them on no other terms. I aspire in my present undertaking to set an example towards raising the national tone in whatever concerns us socially or individually; and to this end I shall labour to develope the truth, and seasonably to present it in a form as intelligible and attractive to all ages and conditions as lies in my power.

I have given you my name and additions, that you may be the better able to judge what credit I am entitled to in respect to the different subjects of which I may treat, and as the best security against the licence which authors writing anonymously, even when known, are but too apt to allow themselves.

[On the 15th July—an interval of seven weeks—the author again addressed his readers thus:—]

Dear Reader, whether gentle or simple, male or female, young or old—for I am happy to say I have of all sorts,

I do not know whether you find yourself in any degree wiser, or better, or happier for my labours so far as they have gone, but I am sure I do. At least, from the very frequent testimonies I meet with, I cannot doubt but that I have contributed to your amusement; and I consider that to be a great point gained, if I can maintain it; because with amusement, you cannot fail in the end, considering the sources I draw from, to derive considerable profit. In my first address I told you it was an alterative diet of sound and comfortable doctrines, blended with innoxious amusement, that I proposed to set before you, and I hope so far I have kept my word. Like all alteratives, it is only by perseverance that mine can produce much effect, and you must learn from my desultory writings, what is to be learnt, as you would from other people's conversation, by habitual attention.

I have been much amused with the progress of opinion as to my undertaking. When I first mentioned it, I was told I should never

begin, or that I should never go on, or that I should involve myself in dangerous expense, or that there was something startling and improper in a man in a public situation like mine, conducting a periodical, and that to put my name to it was out of all question. Well, I did begin, and I feel no diffidence of being able to go on, but the contrary. I am in no danger from expense, and, so far as I can judge, the balance will turn in my favour. After my earlier numbers appeared, the idea of any impropriety in my being the avowed author of them, was deemed quite ridiculous; but still objections were made, though all of the most complimentary kind, as that my writings were too good to last, that it was impossible an individual could alone sustain such a weight, and that, considering my other avocations, I was tasking my time beyond all bounds. Whether these objections are valid, time will show. As to the first, that my writings have been too good to last, I beg, gentle reader, to inform you, that the reception they have met with will induce me to redouble my efforts and attention to prevent any deterioration; and that, after this number, I shall dedicate myself with additional earnestness to your service. The general observation now made to me is, that my work is not sufficiently known, and that I do not take pains to puff it, as the phrase is. It is true, I have abstained from some of the usual channels of notoriety, and have given my publisher positive directions to do the same; being anxious, in the first instance, to deserve success, from confidence that in that case, if it comes slowly, it will come surely; and secondly, independently of personal feeling, I am actuated by what I consider a due regard to my station. I will tell you, however, that both in society and the streets, I am constantly gratified and encouraged by volunteered testimonies of approval—principally, as I have said before, as to the amusement I afford. At the hazard of being accused of vanity or quackery (and by this time you will have found out that I hazard a good deal), I will give you a few specimens of written opinions I have received from persons of very different characters. They have the merit of being honest, as they were perfectly unsought and unexpected; and they may serve as a sort of review, not without interest to those who take any interest in my work. The first is from a country gentleman, not given to giving himself much trouble. He says characteristically, "I reproach myself with not having acknowledged 'The Original,' but shall apply for mercy, from the fact of having read it twice over, a circumstance for which neither you nor any other author could ever be prepared." The second is from a gentleman, celebrated for the wit and piquancy of his writings, and is expressed thus: "I wish you all the success of the 'Spectator,' 'Tatler,' and 'Guardian.' What does not society owe to the man, who, after protecting the laws for so many hours a day,

gives up the residue of his time to the amelioration of politics and morals? The ladies return you their best thanks for your lucubrations; they would be much more happy to thank you here." The third, which is from a lawyer and a scholar, has the following passage: "I sincerely wish you may make an impression on the reading public. A friend of mine says you will soon be tired of writing so much good sense. I do not think so, if you find or make an appetite for such wholesome food." The fourth, and only one asked for, is from an unpretending lady, who says amongst other praises, "I must compliment you upon the religious, moral, and benevolent feelings which go through your work." The last is from a man of high connexions, to whom I gave the monthly part, containing the first six numbers, and is as follows: "A great many thanks for your present. I could not stop till I had read it quite through. Sound sense and right feeling are, I may say, in every page of it, and excellent language. Go on. Your description of Italy is lovely. I am all for your democratic principle. Your advice, too, about health is perfectly good. Go on, then, I say, and give us more instruction and amusement, and as well and agreeably told as you have done." The above are not formal, but familiar testimonials, and are the more satisfactory on that account.

With respect to the effect produced upon myself by my weekly undertaking, I find it has a tendency to increase three out of the four essentials to happiness enumerated by Dr. Paley in the sixth chapter of the first book of his "Moral Philosophy," which chapter ought to be familiar to every one. In the first place, it furnishes "exercise to the faculties in the pursuit of an engaging end;" and this I think must be so evident as to need no illustration. Secondly, it contributes to "a prudent constitution of habits," inasmuch as I am obliged to be more attentive to my diet, to exercise, and to early rising; otherwise I should often be unequal to the task I have imposed upon myself, and I find it easy or difficult, agreeable or irksome, just as I live. With a little more practice I expect to acquire a complete command of my habits. Then the search after, and contemplation of, what is excellent, greatly increase my love for it, and give me a distaste for everything unworthy; besides which, as occasion demands, I find stores in my mind long since dormant or forgotten, and I can scarcely take up a book or a newspaper, or go into society, or pass along the streets, that something worthy of note does not occur to me. The third essential to happiness, according to Paley, is health, and that, as I have above observed, I am obliged to attend to. What he says upon the subject accords so much with my views, and with what I have

laid down, that I will here subjoin it; I shall hereafter cite* the high medical authority of Dr. Gregory in support of my positions. The passage from Paley is as follows:—

"By health I understand, as well freedom from bodily distempers, as that tranquillity, firmness, and alacrity of mind, which we call good spirits; and which may properly enough be included in our notion of health, as depending commonly upon the same causes, and yielding to the same management, as our bodily constitution.

"Health in this sense is the one thing needful. Therefore no pains, expense, self-denial, or restraint, to which we subject ourselves for the sake of health, is too much. Whether it requires us to relinquish lucrative situations, to abstain from favourite indulgences, to control intemperate passions, or undergo tedious regimen; whatever difficulties it lays us under, a man, who pursues his happiness rationally and resolutely, will be content to submit.

"When we are in perfect health and spirits, we feel in ourselves a happiness independent of any particular gratification whatever, and of which we can give no account. This is an enjoyment which the Deity has annexed to life; and it probably constitutes, in a great measure the happiness of infants and brutes."

In conclusion I have every reason so far to be satisfied with the result of my labours, having hitherto met with nothing but unqualified commendation; and I feel that the desire to increase the interest of my work will increase with its success. There is one testimonial in my favour, which affords me particular satisfaction; and that is, that so far from having no honour in my own country, I learn my numbers are eagerly desired in the village where I long lived, and where I commenced my study of the administration of the poor-laws.

[After a further interval of six weeks (the 16th of August), our author gives us the benefit of his own experience as an author, under the heading—]

COMPOSITION.

There is no exercise of the mind more delightful or more irksome, according to circumstances, than composition. With me the humour depends almost entirely upon my mode of living; and when I practise my doctrines respecting health, I think I may say I experience no difficulties. Attention to diet I find to be of much the most consequence; but when I am also careful as to the quantity of sleep and exercise, my capabilities rise to their highest pitch; that is, temperance removes difficulties, and moderation in sleep and activity in

* See p. 21.

exercise create facilities. There are accidental causes which have their influence, but in an inferior degree, and personal management at all times enables me to command my powers. It is far otherwise when the temptations of society induce irregularities or excess, and the digestive organs have lost their tone. Ideas refuse to appear; phrases, which at other times would have fallen into the ranks in order due, become, as it were, of the awkward squad, and seem utterly incapable of discipline, and despair is only driven away by necessity. I should think there can scarcely be a more piteous case than that of an author out of sorts, writing for bread against time. As far as the pencil can go, Hogarth has depicted such a person in his "Distrest Poet," but there must be "that within which passeth show." The difference between the best humour for composition and the worst is about the same as that between a salient fountain and a crazy pump in a deep well: the produce may be equally good in both cases, but the labour is beyond comparison different. It has happened to me more than once to receive particular commendation for those numbers in the composition of which I have been the most perplexed, and which I fully expected would have met with censure. However, I intend to avail myself of the comparative solitude of next month to pay special attention to my state, both for my own ease, and to see the result.

[Again, after a shorter interval of three weeks (September 16th), the author treats us to a wise dissertation on "Self-discipline," accompanied by a confession that his words had been wiser than his acts. But he promises amendment:—]

It is now nine o'clock at night of Monday the fourteenth of September, and I have four pages of this number to write by nine o'clock to-morrow morning. In my number for the twenty-sixth of August, I concluded an article on Composition with saying, that I intended to avail myself of the comparative solitude of the present month, to pay special attention to my state, both for my own ease, and to see the result as to my facility in writing. I have done no such thing; but thinking my temptations would be fewer, I have been more off my guard than usual, and have deteriorated instead of improving. The consequence is, I write with difficulty, and what would have been perfectly easy to me, if I had followed up my resolution, is now an irksome task; but I rejoice at it nevertheless, because it makes me feel more strongly the expediency of discipline, and I hope by this time next week to have made a regular progress. Self-discipline is the most important occupation of man, and ought to be the never-ceasing object of his attention. There can be no spectacle so noble as a human being under perfect self-control—self-control, not only in abstaining from what is wrong, but in pursuing what is right. In

such a state alone is to be found perfect freedom. Every other is more or less a state of servitude to indolence or ill-directed energy. Till this morning, when necessity compelled me, I could not bring myself to put pen to paper for this week's number, and the consequence was, that during the previous days I was a slave to irresolution, which irresolution was produced by inattention to diet, and by too much sleep. Self-discipline is the regulation of the present with a view to the future; but unfortunately the temptations of the present generally prevail against advantages which are not present, and we content ourselves with deferring the execution of our resolves from occasion to occasion throughout our lives. It seems to me as if the first thing we ought to attend to, was our physical state, or bodily health, and that everything else would follow almost as a matter of course. I mean that sound state, which is equally removed from debility and feverish excitement, and the attainment of which implies the exercise of many virtues, whilst it is favourable to the development of many more. It is the character of the Christian religion to inculcate the practice of self-discipline to a much greater extent than was ever even thought of before, and the Christian religion is constantly represented by its earliest teachers as holding out perfect freedom to its disciples. It appears to me certain that the practice of its precepts is calculated to insure the greatest quantity of happiness here, as well as hereafter, because, whilst it permits every rational enjoyment, it imposes restraint only in those things which are injurious. An individual who acted up to the rules of Christianity, could not but enjoy existence in the highest perfection of which it is capable. But a degree of perseverance is necessary, to which few can bring themselves. It is not by violent efforts that a proper state can be attained, for they are never lasting. It is not by plunging into extremes that we can insure our well-being, for they defeat every object of living; but it is by a steady, temperate course, with a constant check upon ourselves even at the thought of evil. When we have gone wrong, we must get right by degrees, so as to acquire a new habit as we reform. A violent resolution is only made to be broken. A sudden start from the wrong to the right road is followed by as sudden a start back again. It is necessary also in self-discipline, in order to make it effective and permanent, that it should be extended to all our actions and habits. It is the whole man that must be reformed, or there is no safety. There must be no reserves, no compromises, no granting ourselves, as it were, a lease of certain irregularities, with a determination to quit them at the expiration of a term. We must begin from the present, and go steadily on, watching ourselves unceasingly, making our aberrations daily less and less, and securing every advance by all

the precautions in our power. We must never be too sure, which is the almost certain forerunner of a relapse, but must distrust our strength on every occasion of temptation, either of commission or omission. It shall be my endeavour to practise somewhat of all I preach; and, indeed, I feel to a certain extent the beneficial influence of turning my thoughts to the subjects I have treated of in these papers. I shall set to work in earnest in carrying that resolve into execution which I have mentioned at the beginning of this article.

[And now, having completed his first volume, and kept silence, as to personal matters, for ten weeks (it is the 18th November), we are again informed of the author's habits of composition, and again receive his confession of the extent to which he has fallen short of his own ideal:—]

DEAR READER,—

Having arrived without accident at the conclusion of my first volume, I think I cannot begin my second more appropriately than with addressing you for the third time—first in my first number, and secondly in my ninth; and if it is not taxing you too much, I would ask you to refer to those addresses before you proceed with this.

I think you will find I have in no degree deviated from the line I prescribed to myself in the outset. It has been my constant endeavour to place before you truth and sound doctrines only, in a familiar, intelligible, and attractive form; and I am happy to have practically disproved a position I had often combated, that it is necessary, in order to succeed with a work like mine, to minister more or less to false, trifling, and depraved tastes. I have studied only to correct and purify such, and I have the gratification to find that my writings have made a far greater impression, and amongst a much more varied class of readers, than I at all anticipated. At the same time, I have strictly adhered to my principle, before stated, of abstaining from all artificial means of forcing a circulation. Though, as far as I have touched upon political subjects, I have used equal freedom towards all parties, I have been quoted by almost every, if not every daily paper in London, as well as by many other periodicals—by some frequently and very copiously, and I take this opportunity of offering my acknowledgments for this spontaneous notice. I have the same acknowledgments to make in respect to several provincial papers, some of which have been kindly forwarded to me through unknown channels. Since my last address I have also continued to receive letters from private sources, couched in still stronger terms of approval than those I have heretofore alluded to. The demand for my work has from the beginning been steadily and progressively increasing, and I have every reason to be satisfied with my undertaking. I mention these facts, gentle reader,

because if you reflect upon them, I think they must appear to you of a gratifying nature in respect to the reception of truth and reasonableness, and because I hope they will create in you a confidence that there will be no relaxation in my efforts to preserve your good opinion. I will now give you a few particulars of a different description, which may probably be of some interest to you. After my first six numbers, all the articles till the eighteenth number inclusive, except one article on the "Horrors of War," five entitled "Letters from the Continent," and eight extracts from my pamphlet on "Pauperism," were written as they were wanted; and in the last eight numbers every article, with the exception of the short one in praise of wine from Shakspeare, was composed within the week it was printed. Sometimes I have been driven to the last moment, and how I have got through at all, on such occasions, is to me utterly unaccountable. In my perplexity I have taken a subject I never considered before, and written down I scarcely knew what, thinking I should be ruined, but finding to my surprise the direct reverse; for some of my moral pieces, for which I have received the most commendation, were composed in that hazardous manner, while the few articles I had by me for years, written at perfect leisure, and frequently revised, have been comparatively unnoticed. This practice of delaying to the last is a very common one, but much to be deprecated. I make continual resolutions to leave it off, but continually yield to the temptation or humour of the moment. I try to avoid invitations, but they constantly come upon me, and are seldom refused. Then come the dangers of good cheer, which I always flatter myself I shall be able to avoid, and am always deceived—not that I commit excess in the ordinary sense, but that the habits of society lead me, in spite of myself, to overstep those limits of temperance which it is absolutely necessary to observe in order to command the clear and vigorous use of the faculties. I find that by taking tea and toast, with or without eggs, instead of dinner, and, when I have finished my labours, a light supper, I can work the longest, the most easily, and the most pleasantly, both at night and next morning. Dinner, according to the present system, totally incapacitates me for mental exertion for the remainder of the day, and affects me disadvantageously even after a night's rest. I owe it to myself and to you to follow that line which I know to be the best, and if I adhered altogether to what I have laid down on the subject of health, I have no doubt my numbers would exhibit proofs of the beneficial consequences. I have indeed made some progress in self-management since I began this work, and I hope to accomplish much more; but, as Portia says in the "Merchant of Venice," "I can easier teach twenty what were good to be done, than be one of the twenty to follow my own teaching." My mode of com-

posing I apprehend to be very different from what could be supposed, and from the usual mode. I write in a bed-room at an hotel, sitting upon a cane chair, in the same dress I go out in, and with no books to refer to but the New Testament, Shakspeare, and a pocket-dictionary. Now and then, when much pressed for time, and without premeditation, and with my eye upon the clock, I have written some of the short moral pieces above mentioned at the Athenæum, at the same table where others have been writing notes and letters; and sometimes I snatch an interval at my office. Moreover, most of these short pieces have been written by measure to fill up certain spaces. I write down a title, and then wait for the first sentence; then for another, and so on, without any plan, till I have got as many lines as I want, and I have generally found that the more unsatisfactory the process has been to myself, the more satisfaction I have given to others. I can only attribute my succeeding under such circumstances to the extent I am told I have done, to my formerly having read with great attention, not crammed, many of the best authors, and to my habitual cultivation for many years of the pure truth, unmixed with party feeling, or any bias whatever. The disposition and the hidden materials seem to bring me through my emergencies. I shall conclude with a tribute which I feel to be due. In former times, printers appear to have been the torment of authors; but mine are to me the reverse, for they render me every assistance, and in each individual in the office with whom I have to do, I find so complete an understanding of his business, such punctuality in execution, so much intelligence, and such a desire to accommodate me, as make what might be very irksome very agreeable. With my publisher, to whom I applied without any previous knowledge, from his contiguity to the printing-office, my business is less frequent and less urgent, but I can speak of him with equal praise; so that with readers, printers, and publisher, I consider myself altogether most fortunate.

In my first address to you I expressed a hope that we should soon be on intimate terms. In what I have just written I have assumed that we are so, and have let my pen talk as if I were talking in person to a familiar acquaintance.

[In the same number in which this address appears, the author calls our attention to a "Case of Distress," which proves to be his own. He confesses to a failure of ideas. He has gone to bed late, and risen early; but it is of no use. The reader must accept further extracts from his "Pamphlet on Pauperism" in lieu of new matter:—]

I am in a state of great perplexity at this moment. It is half-past four in the morning, and by twelve o'clock I want six pages in order to complete this number. All yesterday I was racking my brain upon

various topics, but with no sort of success. I might as well have rummaged for gold in an empty chest. I could not find an idea on any subject. At eleven I went to bed in the hope of rising in a more fertile humour. I was up at three, but found no change. I suppose the weather has something to do with producing this collapse of the imagination; that is, the weather combined with a want of my customary quantity of exercise and a sufficient attention to diet. It is a losing game to persist, when the humour is directly contrary; and, probably, if I had taken a vigorous ride yesterday, my inaptitude would have vanished, and I should have saved time. These difficulties might easily be avoided, and I am quite determined I will avoid them for the future, by increased and regular attention to my state of man; though it is almost worth while to feel their weight, on account of the delightful sensation of lightness which follows their removal. I must eschew formal dinners as much as possible, and live according to the dictates of reason; indeed, I think I have done penance almost long enough. I mean, amongst other things, to attend particularly to sleep, upon the quantity and quality of which, I find, vigour and elasticity of body and mind very much depend. There is a great art in sleeping; though it is much neglected, because everybody can sleep after a fashion without any art at all. I will make it the subject of a special article, as soon as I have made my observations practically. Time creeps on, and I find myself at a complete standstill; so with many apologies for my helpless state, and promises to prevent a recurrence, I have recourse once more to my pamphlet on Pauperism, and make a sufficient quantity of extracts to fill up my remaining space. The last extract, on the cost of labour, I thought had been inserted before, and I searched for it for the purpose of referring to it in the article in my last number on Impressment. It will serve to make a part of what I have said there better understood by those who take the trouble to compare the two.

[After another short interval of a fortnight (December 2nd, 1835) the author addresses his readers for the last time; again laments his inability to act up to his own standard of literary duty; owns to exhaustion of mind, and lack of subject; deems it expedient to take a three months' holiday; and purposes to resume his labours on the first Wednesday of March, 1836:—]

DEAR READER,—

If I had known what I now know, I would not have concluded my first volume till the last number of last month, giving timely notice that it was expedient I should take a holiday. London living and authorship do not go on well together. My writings have latterly drawn upon me more numerous and cordial invitations than usual, which is a gratifying sign of approbation, but of somewhat

ruinous consequences. Conviviality, though without what is ordinarily called excess, during the greater part of the week, and hard fagging during the remainder, with a sacrifice of exercise and sleep, must tell; and if I were to go on without intermission, I must make myself a slave, with at the same time great danger of falling off. I have therefore determined to suspend my labours till the first Wednesday in March, and feeling the expediency of such a step, I think it best to take it at once. What portion of my present indisposition for writing, or whether any, is attributable to the mere continuance of my weekly efforts, I cannot at all determine; but undoubtedly, if I had lived according to my own precepts, and had given up a portion of each day to composition, I should have felt myself in a much more favourable humour than I now do. Delay, I find on inquiry, is the common failing of authors, and an independence of the habits of society is more difficult than those who are not situated as I am, can well conceive. A respite will, therefore, not only give me fresh vigour for writing, but you a fresh appetite for reading, for I cannot but fear that a constant supply from the same pen might produce in the end a certain want of relish. Diet, however good, ought now and then to be changed. I have already given you a sufficient course of mine to produce some effect, if it ever will; and if you should feel inclined to return to it, it will have something of the charm of novelty. The same phraseology and turn of thinking will not be always haunting you. After a first acquaintance, a temporary separation is almost always productive of agreeable results, and so I trust it will be with you and me. In the course of my work many subjects of importance have suggested themselves to me for the first time, which I wish to have leisure to turn over in my mind, and I wish to read over carefully what I have already written, in order to supply any omissions I may find, and take up those subjects upon which I have only lightly touched. Many of the articles were written so completely off-hand that I have entirely forgotten them, as I have never given them a second perusal. The reasons why I have fixed the first Wednesday in March for the resumption of my numbers, are, first, because three months will afford me ample time to recover my tone; secondly, because I shall have sufficient opportunity for attending to persons and matters of late somewhat neglected; and lastly, because during the short days my publication requires so much writing by candle-light, which I wish to avoid before I suffer any inconvenience, which hitherto I have fortunately escaped. It will be my aim, during the interval between this time and March, to put myself into the best state for renewing my labours with effect. Diet, sleep, and exercise are the chief points to be attended to, and difficult it is to attend to

them in this metropolis. If one could but succeed in uniting the advantages of solitude with those of society, it would be glorious. One of my principal objects throughout my numbers will be to facilitate such an union, by rendering the mode of living more simple and rational, and I shall always labour in the same cause. In the meantime I wish you, by a short anticipation, the compliments of the season. I have only to add, that my publisher will suppose his orders to continue in force, except where notice is given to the contrary before the appearance of my next number; and subscribers in the country wishing to have the continuation, are requested to direct their booksellers accordingly.

[What happened after the 2nd December, 1835, to render the author's plans abortive, and end the short life of "The Original," will appear from the following extract from the obituary of the "Annual Register" of the year following:—]

"*January 20th.*—At Brussels, Thomas Walker, Esq., M.A., barrister-at-law, and one of the magistrates of Lambeth Police-office. He was born in the year 1784, and was a native of Manchester, in which town his father and uncle were extensive manufacturers; but at the outbreaking of the French Revolution, they were mixed up with the political agitation of the day. The father was tried for high treason at Lancaster. Lord Erskine acted as counsel for his defence, and he was acquitted. The uncle left the country, settled at Naples, and died there within the last few years. He (the author of 'The Original') was a member of Trinity Colloge, Cambridge, where he graduated B.A., 1808, M.A., 1811. He was called to the Bar at the Inner Temple, May 8th, 1812, and was appointed to his magisterial office in 1829.

"Mr. Walker had been in ill-health for some short time, and was for that reason travelling on the Continent. A few days before his death he had been residing at the Hôtel de Belle Vue, Brussels, and spending his time in visiting and inquiring into the state of the neighbouring prisons and places of confinement. On Saturday (16th January) he was walking with a friend, and on ascending the Montagne de la Cour towards the hotel he appeared oppressed, and complained of difficulty of breathing. The next day he attended church and dined at the table d'hôte. On the Tuesday following he had made an appointment to visit the prison at Vilvorde, but found himself too unwell to fulfil his engagement. His friends then pressed him to send for medical aid, which he refused. In the evening he ordered some tea, and was not again visited till the next morning, when the waiter, entering the room, found the tea-things untouched and Mr. Walker a corpse. Dr. Tobin, physician to the embassy, and

three other eminent medical men being called in, examined the body, and signed a declaration alleging the cause of his death to have been pulmonary apoplexy."

The following extract from the *Times* of January 30th, 1836, supplies us with fuller details of the last days, sudden death, and cause of death of the author of "The Original:"—

"DEATH OF MR. WALKER, POLICE MAGISTRATE.

"*Extract of a Letter from Brussels, January* 21*st*, 1836.

"It is probable you may have heard before this reaches you of the melancholy and sudden death of your friend Mr. Walker. I shall give you all the particulars that have transpired here before and after the event. He had been at the Hôtel de Belle Vue for several days, and had made some little excursions in the neighbourhood, to visit and inquire into the state of the prisons and places of confinement in this country. On Sunday last he was at Mr. Drury's church. On the same day he dined at the table d'hôte, and was cheerful. On Monday he had asked Mr. Drury to dine with him, but Mr. Drury could not accept the invitation. On Saturday he was walking with Mr. Cuming, of Gray's-wood, Surrey, and on coming up the Montagne de la Cour towards the hotel he seemed oppressed with difficulty of breathing, and complained of it. On the same day he made an appointment with Mr. Cuming to go with him on the Tuesday following to see the prison at Vilvorde. On the Tuesday morning early Mr. Cuming received a note from him to say that he felt too unwell to fulfil the engagement. Mr. Cuming immediately called on him and found him in bed, about 12 o'clock, stayed with him half an hour, and pressed him to send for medical aid. He replied, there was no occasion; he should soon be well. He would not have his bed made that day. In the evening the servant inquired if he wanted anything, and she was desired to bring him some tea. He was not visited again that night. On Wednesday morning, as it was late, and no bell summoning any attendance, the waiter entered his room, and found the tea-things had not been touched, and looking into the bed, saw he was a corpse, cold and stiff. The master of the hotel, M. de Proft, sent to the Hôtel de Ville to acquaint the authorities, to the English ambassador's, and to Mr. Salter, the undertaker. In taking care of papers and letters, your letter of introduction to me was discovered, for he had not yet delivered it. M. de Proft and Mr. Salter called on me with the letter about one o'clock. Finding he was your friend, and so strongly recommended to me, I could not forbear taking a great interest and an active part in doing what I considered essential on such occasions and satisfactory to

his friends in England. I considered an examination of the body by competent and skilful medical men indispensable, with a view simply to ascertain the immediate cause of his death. Dr. Tobin, physician to the embassy, Dr. Perkins, Dr. Duncan, and Dr. A. Jacquebert, a Belgian, were desired to meet this morning at ten o'clock and make the necessary examination. It was done in my presence, and in that of my friend Captain Lovett. The medical people signed a declaration, which I subjoin. [The description of the appearances found on dissection fully justifies the statement in the 'Annual Register' that the death was due to pulmonary apoplexy, the seat of which was the right lung.] The body is to be immediately put into a shell, and afterwards enclosed in a leaden coffin, to await orders from his friends in England whether the corpse is to be buried here, or conveyed to his relations at home."

[So ended one of the saddest and most instructive histories to be found in the annals of English literature. That young men without experience should overrate and overtask their powers can excite no surprise; but that a man of mature age and great knowledge of the world, and not without experience as an author, should have embarked alone in an enterprise specially demanding the co-operation of others, with insufficient literary capital, and a confidence in his own capacity for work which the remembrance of his ailing childhood might reasonably be expected to have abated, must needs astonish us. The explanation is perhaps to be found in an undue confidence in the efficacy of a reasonable regimen in insuring health of body and mind, and in his own ability to enforce its precepts on himself. In his ingenious and amusing essay "On the Art of Attaining High Health," this undue confidence displays itself throughout, coupled with a strange forgetfulness of the lessons of his infancy, childhood, and youth. We who are in a condition to combine that instructive history with the fact of his death when not yet an old man, must recognise in the cause of his death the recurrence of that imperfect condition of the organs of respiration which had caused and fully accounted for the symptoms of all his early maladies, but which had been kept in abeyance for a long term of years by the force of a constitution otherwise healthy.

These considerations, however, do but lend additional interest to the product of his few weeks of toil; for as we read these outpourings of a spirit so gentle and genial—these thoughtful utterances of a mind so wise and practical—these ripe fruits of an experience, not merely accepted as they came to hand, but diligently sought after—each page seems, in some sense, to glow with the light of self-sacrifice. Something of this spirit may perhaps have been derived from her to whom the author of "The Original" pays the following just tribute:—]

MY MOTHER.

In my article on the art of attaining high health, I have occasion shortly to mention my mother. She was indeed in many particulars an example for her sex—an example too valuable to be altogether lost. I will sketch for study one or two of the agreeable features in her character.

When I was living alone with her, * * * I used occasionally to go out to dinner in the neighbourhood, and afterwards to walk home late, sometimes very late. * * * * *

But at whatever hour I arrived, I always found my mother sitting up for me alone. Not a word of reproach—not a question. If it happened to be cold or damp I was greeted with a cheerful fire, by which she had been sitting, reading or netting, as her eyes would permit, and with a colour on her cheek at seventy, which would have done no discredit to a girl at eighteen. She had always the supper-tray ready, but not brought in, so as neither to tempt me if I did not want anything, nor to disappoint me if I did. When a man throws himself into a chair after the fatigues of the day, he generally feels for a period a strong propensity to silence, any interruption of which has rather a tendency to irritate. I observed that my mother had always great tact in discovering the first symptoms of revival, till which she would quietly go on with her own occupation, and then inquire if I had had an agreeable party, and put such questions as showed a gratifying interest, equally removed from worrying curiosity and disheartening indifference. I recommend the same course generally to female consideration and adoption.

If, from any engagement, I wished to breakfast earlier than usual, however early, she was always ready, and without taking any credit for her readiness. If I was down before the hour I was almost sure to find her seated at table; or, if the morning was fine, walking composedly before the windows, with breakfast prepared. If I desired to have a particular dinner, it was served up just as I asked for it—no alteration—no additional dish, with the very unphilosophical remark, "You have no occasion to eat it unless you like." She seemed to be aware that needless variety causes a distraction destructive of perfect contentment, and that temptation resisted, as well as temptation yielded to, produces, though in an inferior degree, digestive derangement.

I will mention only one other trait, and that is, that though she was unremitting in her care and attention when any of her family were ill, yet her own indispositions she always concealed as long as she could,—for it seemed to give her pain to be the cause of the least interruption to the pleasure of those she loved.

PART II.

THE ARTS OF LIFE.

I. *THE ART OF ATTAINING HIGH HEALTH.*
II. *THE ART OF DINING.*
III. *THE ART OF TRAVELLING.*
IV. *THE ART OF LISTENING.*

I. THE ART OF ATTAINING HIGH HEALTH.

If my readers are like myself, it will be satisfactory to them to know what authority I have for treating of the art of attaining high health, and what is my experience. My acquaintance of later years are accustomed to treat my precepts as theoretical, and to maintain that I am indebted for the health they see me enjoy, to an originally very strong constitution—with what truth the following statement will show.

Some months before I was born, my mother lost a favourite child from illness, owing, as she accused herself, to her own temporary absence, and that circumstance preyed upon her spirits and affected her health to such a degree, that I was brought into the world in a very weakly and wretched state. It was supposed I could not survive long; and nothing, I believe, but the greatest maternal tenderness and care preserved my life. During childhood I was very frequently and seriously ill—often thought to be dying, and once pronounced to be dead. I was ten years old before it was judged safe to trust me from home at all, and my father's wishes to place me at a public school were uniformly opposed by various medical advisers, on the ground that it would be my certain destruction. Besides continual bilious and inflammatory attacks, for several years I was grievously troubled with an affection of the trachea; and many times, after any excess in diet or exertion, or in particular states of the weather, or where there was new hay or decayed timber, my difficulty of breathing was so great,

that life was miserable to me. On one occasion at Cambridge I was obliged to send for a surgeon in the middle of the night, and he told me the next morning he thought I should have died before he could open a vein. I well remember the relief it afforded my agony, and I only recovered by living for six weeks in a rigidly abstemious and most careful manner. During these years, and for a long time after, I felt no security of my health. At last, one day when I had shut myself up in the country, and was reading with great attention Cicero's treatise De Oratore, some passage, I quite forget what, suggested to me the expediency of making the improvement of my health my study. I rose from my book, stood bolt upright, and determined to be well. In pursuance of my resolution, I tried many extremes, was guilty of many absurdities, and committed many errors, amidst the remonstrances and ridicule of those around me. I persevered nevertheless, and it is now, I believe, full sixteen years since I have had any medical advice, or taken any medicine, or anything whatever by way of medicine. During that period I have lived constantly in the world, for the last six years in London, without ever being absent during any one whole week, and I have never foregone a single engagement of business or pleasure, or been confined one hour, with the exception of two days in the country from over exertion. For nine years I have worn neither great coat nor cloak, though I ride and walk at all hours and in all weathers. My dress has been the same in summer and winter, my under garments being single and only of cotton, and I am always lightly shod. The only inconvenience I suffer, is occasionally from colds; but with a little more care I could entirely prevent them, or, if I took the trouble, I could remove the most severe in four-and-twenty hours. I do not mean it to be understood that the same simple means would produce so rapid a cure in all persons, but only in those who may have acquired the same tendency to health that I have—a tendency of which I believe all persons are much more capable than they suppose.

In the course of my pursuit after health, I once brought myself to a pure and buoyant state, of which previously I had no conception, and which I shall hereafter describe. Having attained so great a blessing, I afterwards fell off to be content with that negative condition which I call the condition of not being ill, rather than of being well. Real health produces an elasticity and vigour of body and mind, which makes the possessors of it, in the characteristic words of the Ploughman Poet,

"O'er all the ills of life victorious."

And now having, I hope, excited the curiosity of my readers, and

inspired them with some degree of confidence as to my qualifications for the task I have undertaken, I proceed to details.

After making many blunders in my endeavours to improve my health, I discovered that I had fallen into the great but, I believe, common error of thinking how much food I could take in order to make myself strong, rather than how much I could digest to make myself well. I found that my vessels were overcharged, and my whole frame encumbered with superfluities, in consequence of which I was liable to be out of order from the slightest exciting causes. I began to take less sleep and more exercise, particularly before breakfast, at which meal I confined myself to half a cup of tea and a very moderate quantity of eatables. I dined at one o'clock from one dish of meat and one of vegetables, abstaining from everything else; and I drank no wine, and only half a pint of table-beer. At seven I had tea, observing the same moderation as at breakfast, and at half past nine a very light supper. If I was ever hungry during any other part of the day, I took a crust of bread or some fruit. My care was neither to anticipate my appetite, nor to overload it, nor to disappoint it; in fact, to keep it in the best possible humour. I continued this course almost invariably for several months. It was now the middle of a very fine summer, and I was residing at home in the country, alone with my mother, who was a remarkably easy and accommodating person; and to the contentment she inspired me with, I attribute a good deal of the extraordinary state I arrived at. She used frequently to say she could not help looking at me, my features were so changed. Indeed, I felt a different being, light and vigorous, with all my senses sharpened, I enjoyed an absolutely glowing existence. I cannot help mentioning two or three instances in proof of my state, though I dare say they will appear almost ridiculous, but they are nevertheless true. It seems that from the surface of an animal in perfect health there is an active exhalation going on, which repels impurity; for when I walked on the dustiest roads, not only my feet but even my stockings remained free from dust. By way of experiment, I did not wash my face for a week, nor did any one see, nor I feel, any difference. One day I took hold of the branch of a tree to raise myself from the ground, when I was astonished to feel such a buoyancy as to have scarcely any sense of weight. In this state all my sensations were the real and marked indications of my wants. No faintness or craving, but a pleasureable keenness of appetite told me when to eat. I was in no uncertainty as to when I ought to leave off, for I ate heartily to a certain point, and then felt distinctly satisfied, without any feeling of oppression. No heaviness but a pleasing composure preceded my desire for rest, and I woke from one sound glowing sleep completely refreshed. Exercise

was delightful to me, and enough of it was indicated by a quiescent tendency, without any harassing sensation of fatigue. I felt, and I believe I was, inaccessible to disease; and all this I attribute to the state of my digestion, on which it seems to me entirely depends the state of man.*

What I have just said respecting the state of health I once attained is not, I find, easily credited by those who have not had similar experience. I subjoin a passage from high professional authority—that of Dr. James Gregory, late Professor of Medicine in Edinburgh—confirmatory of my positions; and those who will take the trouble to make the comparison will find how fully I am borne out. The passage was pointed out to me many years since by a physician, and I extracted it at the time, but had forgotten its contents till I had the curiosity to refer to it the other day, and I now give an abbreviated translation from the original Latin. I believe it is principally taken from Celsus. My most staggering assertion I take to be this "It seems that from the surface of an animal in perfect health there is an active exhalation going on which repels impurity; for when I walked on the dustiest roads not only my feet, but even my stockings, remained free from dust." Dr. Gregory says of a person in high health—"the exhalation from the skin is free and constant, but without amounting to perspiration"—*exhalatio per cutem libera et constans, citra vero sudorem*,† which answers with remarkable precision to "my active exhalation," and the repulsion of impurity is a necessary consequence. In fact, it is perspiration so active as to fly from the skin, instead of remaining upon it, or suffering anything else to remain; just as we

* [The author here describes, in the language of enthusiasm, not unmixed with misapprehension as to their cause, those sensations of buoyant health which most young men experience whenever they are taking, day by day, exercise fairly proportioned to the amount of food consumed, and stopping short on this side excess. They are the sensations experienced by the athlete under judicious training. They are such as Howard and Cobbett, both remarkable for abstemiousness and the amount of work they did, enjoyed for many years of their busy active lives. It may be well to note, in passing, that Walker, who shared with Howard the drawback of feeble health when young, had something of Howard's perseverance and practical tact in dealing with the abuses that came under his notice. Both men, in different degrees, earned the title of Philanthropist in its highest and best sense.]

† [These words are taken from a minute description of the phenomena of perfect health, contained in the first chapter of Dr. Gregory's "Conspectus Medicinæ Theoreticæ,"—a work in high repute when Walker wrote "The Original," and well remembered by those who studied medicine half a century ago, and made preparation for their Latin examination at the "Hall" by the joint study of "Celsus" and "Gregory." Whether the learned author of the "Conspectus" would have attributed such dust-repelling virtues to the *exhalatio per cutem* must admit of doubt. But the condition *citra sudorem*, would certainly be more favourable to the removal of dust than to its deposit.]

see an animal in high health roll in the mire, and directly after appear as clean as if it had been washed. I enter into these particulars, not to justify myself, but to gain the confidence of my readers, not only on this particular subject, but generally—more especially as I shall have frequent occasion to advance things out of the common way, though in the way of truth. Well-grounded faith has great virtue in other things besides religion. The want of it is an insuperable bar to improvement in things temporal, as well as in things spiritual, and is the reverse of St. Paul's "rejoiceth in the truth, believeth all things, hopeth all things;" for it believes nothing and hopes nothing. It is the rule of an unfortunate sect of sceptics in excellence, who, at the mention of anything sound, look wonderfully wise, and shake their heads, and smile inwardly—infallible symptoms of a hopeless condition of half-knowledge and self-conceit. But to return to the passage, which is as follows:—

"When a man is in perfect health his mind is not only equal to the ordinary occasions of life, but is able easily to accommodate itself to all sorts of situations and pursuits; his perception, understanding, and memory are correct, clear, and retentive; he is firm and composed, whether in a grave or a lively humour—is always himself, and never the sport of inordinate affections or external accidents; he commands his passions instead of obeying them; he enjoys prosperity with moderation, and adversity with fortitude, and is roused, not overwhelmed, by extraordinary emergencies. These are not only the signs of a healthy mind, but of a healthy body also; and indeed they do not a little contribute to health of body; for as long as the mind is shut up within it, they will mutually and much affect each other. . . .

"The muscles are full and firm, the skin soft, almost moist, and never dry; the colour, especially of the face, fresh and constant, and, whether fair or dark, never approaching to pale or yellow; the countenance animated and cheerful; the eyes bright and lively; the teeth sound and strong; the step firm; the limbs well supporting the body; the carriage erect; every sort of exercise easy; and labour, though long and hard, borne without inconvenience; all the organs of sense acute, neither torpid nor too sensitive; sleep light and long, not easily disturbed, refreshing, and either without dreams, or at least without unpleasant ones, steeping the senses in sweet forgetfulness, or filling the mind with pleasant images. Other signs of a healthy body are the temperate circulation of the blood, the pulse strong, full, soft, equal, neither too quick nor too slow, nor easily raised beyond the ordinary rate; the respiration full, easy, slow, scarcely apparent, and not much accelerated by exercise; the voice strong and sonorous, and in men deep, not easily made hoarse; the breath sweet, at least without any-

thing to the contrary; the mouth moist; the tongue bright, and not too red; the appetite strong, and requiring no stimulants; the thirst moderate; the digestion of all sorts of food easy, without any fermentation or sensation of oppression; and the exhalation from the skin free and constant, but without amounting to perspiration, except from the concurrence of strong causes."

There is one very important conclusion to be drawn from the above description, and that is, that a high state of health is a high moral state,* which is the reverse of what would be generally supposed. Dr. Gregory says that a man in perfect health is not the sport of inordinate affections, and that he commands his passions, instead of obeying them, which means that there is no physical excess to make the affections and passions unruly, but that, like temperate gales, they waft him on his course, instead of driving him out of it. What is generally called high health is a pampered state, the result of luxurious or excessive feeding, accompanied by hard or exciting exercise, and such a state is ever on the borders of disease. It is rather the madness or intoxication of health, than health itself, and it has a tincture of many of the dangerous qualities of madness and intoxication.

On the other hand, there is very little illness that is not the effect of imprudence, and of the part which is not such effect, much is the consequence of giving way to attack. I attribute the degree of health I enjoy, and which I have just described, amongst other causes, to my determined resistance to first symptoms, but for which I am convinced I should not have escaped so well. Besides the inconvenience of illness, I have accustomed myself to consider it as a sort of disgrace, and endeavour to avoid it accordingly. It is the general custom to make too much of invalids, as if they were labouring under unavoidable misfortune. When it is really so, they are deserving of the utmost attention and compassion; but when, as is for the most part the case, illness is the consequence of habitual indulgence or habitual carelessness, it ought to be the subject of reprobation. Illness has often a great mixture of selfishness in it, both in its cause and its continuance, to which the compassionate are unconscionably made slaves. When people will do those things which they have every reason to believe

* [That health is on the whole favourable to morality there can be no reasonable doubt; and that, on the other hand, the feverish and restless condition which attaches to many chronic maladies, such as scrofula and consumption, is hostile to self-restraint, and therefore an incentive to dissipation, sensual indulgences, vice, and crime, may be taken to be a matter of experience. The advocates of sanitary reform are therefore fully justified in urging its claims on moral, no less than on physical, grounds. Health is a centre of attraction round which the Virtues, no less than the Graces, group themselves.]

will make them ill, severity is the most effectual medicine, both for present cure and future preventive.

Being in health it is easy to keep so, at least where there are facilities of living rationally; but to get into health whilst living in the world, and after a long course of ignorance or imprudence, is of difficult attainment.

I do not consider it at all necessary, or even desirable, to be strict in diet when the constitution is once put into good order; but, to accomplish that end, it is certainly essential. It also requires great observation and attention to know what to practice and what to avoid in our habits of life; and I see people constantly doing what is precisely the most prejudicial to them, without the least consciousness of their errors. It is now so long since I was in the same state myself, that I find some difficulty in recollecting with sufficient exactness what I might have thought it necessary to lay down for the benefit of valetudinarians. I will, however, give some of the most important particulars, and shall follow in my observations upon health the familiar and desultory style, writing down what I have to say just as it occurs to me.

This is the golden rule—Content the stomach, and the stomach will content you. But it is often no easy matter to know how; for like a spoiled child, or a wayward wife, it does not always know its own wants. It will cry for food when it wants none—will not say when it has had enough, and then be indignant for being indulged—will crave what it ought to reject, and reject what it ought to desire; but all this is because you have allowed it to form bad habits, and then you ignorantly lay upon poor Nature your own folly.

Rational discipline is as necessary for the stomach, as for the aforesaid child, or the aforesaid wife, and if you have not the sense or the resolution to enforce it, you must take the consequences; but do not lay the fault upon another, and especially one generally so kind, if you would but follow her simple dictates. "I am always obliged to breakfast before I rise—my constitution requires it," drawls out some fair votary of fashion. "Unless I take a bottle of port after dinner," cries the pampered merchant, "I am never well." "Without my brandy-and-water before I go to bed, I cannot sleep a wink," says the comfortable shopkeeper; and all suppose they are following nature; but sooner or later the offended goddess sends her avenging ministers in the shape of vapours, gout, or dropsy.

Having long gone wrong, you must get right by degrees; there is no summary process. Medicine may assist, or give temporary relief; but you have a habit to alter—a tendency to change—from a tendency to being ill to a tendency to being well.

First study to acquire a composure of mind and body. Avoid agitation or hurry of one or the other, especially just before and after meals, and whilst the process of digestion is going on. To this end, govern your temper—endeavour to look at the bright side of things—keep down as much as possible the unruly passions—discard envy, hatred, and malice, and lay your head upon your pillow in charity with all mankind. Let not your wants outrun your means. Whatever difficulties you have to encounter, be not perplexed, but think only what it is right to do in the sight of Him who seeth all things, and bear without repining the result.

When your meals are solitary, let your thoughts be cheerful; when they are social, which is better, avoid disputes or serious argument, or unpleasant topics. "Unquiet meals," says Shakspeare, "make ill digestions;" and the contrary is produced by easy conversation, a pleasant project, welcome news, or a lively companion. I advise wives not to entertain their husbands with domestic grievances about children or servants, nor to ask for money, nor produce unpaid bills, nor propound unseasonable or provoking questions; and I advise husbands to keep the cares and vexations of the world to themselves, but to be communicative of whatever is comfortable, and cheerful, and amusing.

With respect to composure of body, it is highly expedient not to be heated by exercise, either when beginning a meal, or immediately after one. In both cases fermentation precedes digestion, and the food, taken into the stomach, becomes more or less corrupted. I will mention two strong instances. A pig in high health was driven violently just after a full meal: it dropped down dead; and at the desire of some labourers, who thought it was too good to be lost, a butcher forthwith proceeded to dress it. When the hair was scalded off, the skin presented in some places a somewhat livid hue; and when the stomach was opened, the contents were so extremely offensive, that all present, of whom I was one, were obliged to fly, and the carcass almost immediately became a mass of putridity. The second case was that of a man in the service of a relation of mine, who, after a harvest supper and a hot day's labour, was thrown in a wrestling match, by which he instantly died, and decomposition took place so rapidly, that it was with difficulty his body, within four-and-twenty hours, could be placed in a coffin.

Whilst I was subject to the affection of the trachea before mentioned, I frequently brought on the most distressing attacks, and sometimes instantaneously, by heating myself just before or after meals. Even dressing in a hurry ought to be avoided previously to a meal; and I should advise all, especially invalids, to be ready a little before-

hand, as the mind is also often in a state of hurry prejudicial to digestion.

After meals, stooping, leaning against the chest, going quick up stairs, opening or shutting a tight drawer, pulling off boots, packing up, or even any single contortion or forced position of the body, has each a tendency to cause fermentation, and thereby produce bile, heart-burn, difficulty of breathing, and other derangements. I have often experienced ill effects from washing my feet at night instead of in the morning, fasting, which is decidedly the safest time. Of course, persons in high health may allow themselves liberties; but those who are at all liable to indigestion cannot be too observant of even their most trifling actions.

I shall now take up the subject of diet.

I have just been speaking of the ill consequences of being heated by exercise just before or after meals. There is one case which seems to be almost an exception; I mean that of dancing immediately before or after supper; at least, I never suffered any inconvenience from it in my ailing days, though I cannot speak from much experience. But further, I do not call to mind any instances in other persons, and at any rate they cannot be so common as would be the case from any other mode of equal exertion under similar circumstances. The reason I take to be this—that from the enlivening effect upon the spirits, the digestive powers are able to overcome any tendency to fermentation; and if that be so, it proves the extreme healthfulness of the exercise, when taken rationally and for its own sake, instead of, as it usually is, as an exhibition, in over-crowded and over-heated rooms at the most unseasonable hours.

I have already particularly recommended attention to the state of the mind, because the effect of the spirits is very great and often even instantaneous in accelerating or retarding the digestive powers; and upon the digestive powers immediately depends whatever happens to our physical being.

Whenever food is taken into the stomach, it begins directly to undergo a change, either from the action of the gastric juice, which is the desirable one, or from that of the natural heat. In the latter case, a sensation of fulness and weight is first produced, and then of more active uneasiness, as fermentation proceeds; and at last, when digestion commences, it is upon a mass more or less corrupted, according to the quantity and nature of the food, the time it has remained, the heat of the body, and perhaps other circumstances.

The mind will frequently regulate all this, as I have repeatedly experienced; for a feeling of lightness or oppression, of fermentation or quiescence, will come or go as the spirits rise or fall, and the effect is gene-

rally immediately perceptible in the countenance, and felt throughout the whole frame. Such influence has the mind on the digestive powers, and the digestive powers on the body; and when we speak of a light or heavy heart, we confound it with a less romantic organ. The heart, it is true, will beat quicker or slower; but the lightness or heaviness we feel is not there. There is no sickness of the heart; it needs no cordial: and the swain who places his hand in front, whatever the polite may think, is the right marksman. There lies our courage, and thence proceed our doubts and fears.

These truths should make us careful how we live; for upon the digestive organ mainly depend beauty and strength of person, and beauty and strength of mind. Even the most eminently gifted have never been proof against its derangement. It is through the digestion that grief and all the brooding affections of the mind affect the frame, and make the countenance fallen, pale, and liny, which causes Shakspeare to call it "hard-favoured grief," and to say that "grief is beauty's canker." On the other hand, joy, or any pleasurable affection of the mind, which promotes digestion, at the same time fills and lights up the countenance. Often when I have been taking a solitary meal, the appearance of an agreeable companion, or reading any good news, has produced an instantaneous effect upon my digestive organs, and, through them, upon my whole frame. In the same way a judicious medical attendant will, in many cases, by talking his patient into an appetite, or raising his spirits, do him more good than by any medicines. That all this is through the stomach, I will prove by two instances.

First, no one will doubt that the scurvy proceeds from the state of that organ, and that through that organ alone it can be cured. Now, I have read in medical writers, that, after a tedious voyage, sailors, grievously afflicted, have repeatedly been known to have instantaneously experienced a turn in the disorder on the sight of land, and that soldiers besieged have been affected in like manner on the appearance of succour; that is, the spirits have produced the same effect that medicine or proper food would have produced, which must have been through the same organ.

The second instance is what I have several times observed in my own person. When I have had any local inflammation from hurts, however remotely situated, what has affected my digestion has at the same moment affected the inflammation. Fasting too long, eating too soon, taking too much wine, or having my spirits lowered, have instantly been unpleasantly perceptible in the seat of the inflammation; whilst taking food or wine when wanted, or having my spirits raised, have produced the direct contrary effect. How this is effected anatomically,

I leave to the scientific to explain. I only know it from observation; but I do know it, and how to profit by it, and I tell it to my readers that they may profit by it too, which brings me to a repetition of my rule—Content the stomach, and the stomach will content you.

To the caution I gave against stooping after meals, I should add that it is particularly to be avoided with anything tight round the body, and the same may be said of all the actions I have enumerated. They are all pernicious in proportion as the meal has been full or rich. Anything greasy or strong, especially the skin of the fat of roast meat, when disturbed by exertion, will produce the most disagreeable effects, or perhaps bring on a regular bilious attack.

Packing up, preparatory to a long journey by a public vehicle, used often to be a cause of serious inconvenience to my health from my mode of doing it. First of all laying in a hearty meal, because I had a great distance to go, the very reason why I ought to have been abstemious: then having to finish packing after eating, with more things than room for them, the hurry, vexation, and exertion of arranging which, together with the fear of being too late, and bustling off, caused such a fermentation as not only made my journey most uncomfortable, but made me generally out of sorts for some time after. When I had brought myself into a regular state of health, and took care always to be beforehand with my arrangements, eating sparingly, and setting off composedly, I found an immense difference, particularly in the absence of any feeling of being cramped in my limbs, which feeling was always annoying in proportion to my improper living. I now proceed to treat more directly and seriously—

Of Diet.—Health depends on diet, exercise, sleep, the state of the mind, and the state of the atmosphere, and on nothing else that I am aware of. I have been accustomed, for many years, to take the air before I eat, or even drink a drop of liquid, and at whatever time I rise, or whatever the weather is. Sometimes I am only out for a few minutes; but even a few draughts of the open air, when taken regularly as part of a system, produce a tonic effect; and I attribute my constant health more to this practice, than to any other individual thing. Sometimes I walk or ride a considerable distance, or transact business for some hours; and twice I have ridden thirty miles, and sat magisterially for a couple of hours, before breaking my fast, or feeling the slightest inconvenience. This strength arises from habit, and I observe my rule so religiously, that I should have the greatest repugnance to break it, from a thorough conviction of its efficacy.

To those who are not in a situation, or have not the resolution, to adopt my practice, I recommend as near an approach to it as possible. I recommend them, before taking anything either solid or liquid, to

perform their ablutions, and to dress completely, and to breathe for a time the freshest air they can find, either in-doors or out. I also recommend them to engage themselves in some little employment agreeable to the mind, so as not to breakfast till at least an hour and a half or two hours after rising. This enables the stomach to disburden itself and prepare for a fresh supply, and gives it a vigorous tone. I am aware that those who have weak digestions, either constitutionally or from bad habits, would suffer great inconvenience from following my rules all at once. I remember the faintness and painful cravings I used to feel after rising, and like others I mistook weakness for appetite; but appetite is a very different thing—a pleasurable sensation of keenness. Appetite supplied with food produces digestion—not so faintness or craving. The best means—and I always found it effectual—of removing the latter sensations, is to take a little spirit of lavender dropped upon a lump of sugar.* After that, a wholesome appetite may be waited for without inconvenience, and by degrees a healthy habit will be formed.

It is to be observed, that nothing produces a faintness or craving of the stomach in the morning more surely than overloading it overnight, or any unpleasant affection of the mind, which stops digestion,—and this shows the impropriety of adding more food as a palliative.

With respect to the proper food for breakfast, that must depend much upon constitution and way of life, and like most other matters pertaining to health, can best be learned by diligent observation. I think, as a general rule, abstinence from meat is advisable, reserving that species of food till the middle of the day, when the appetite of a healthy person is the strongest. But at breakfast, as at all meals, it is expedient to select what is agreeable to the palate; being then, as always, specially careful not to let that circumstance lead to excess, even in the slightest degree, but on the contrary, to observe the often laid down rule of leaving off with an appetite.

Some people swallow their food in lumps, washing it down with large and frequent gulps of liquid—an affront to the stomach, which it is sure to resent with all the evils of indigestion, as it is impossible for the gastric juice to act, especially if the body is under the influence of motion. Even the motion of the easiest carriage on the smoothest road in such case tends to produce fermentation and fever, and drinking more, the usual remedy with the ignorant, aggravates the incon-

* [I have a very early recollection of this simple remedy. I remember, when a child, seeing Buckner, the then Bishop of Chichester, resorting at short intervals to his neighbour, my grandfather, for this his favourite carminative. But I suspect that the dose was, as often as not, only a specious pretext for a gossip.]

venience; the only plan is to wait till the stomach is drained, and digestion can commence.

Mastication is good in two ways; first, to break the food into small pieces, upon which the gastric juice can sooner act; and secondly, to mix it well with saliva, which is the great facilitator of digestion.

This subject of saliva is of great importance. When the salival glands are dry, it is impossible digestion can go on well. They are much affected by the mind; and joy and grief will produce an instantaneous change, and whatever partakes of joy or grief acts in a corresponding degree. It is for this reason, as I have already remarked, that it is expedient at meals to avoid all unpleasant or even serious topics. Light, agreeable conversation, with moderate mirth and laughter, promote digestion, and principally, I believe, by stimulating the salival glands. Hence the wholesomeness of food that is fancied to such a degree as to make the mouth water. Hence the benefit of talking invalids into an appetite; and frequently the first symptoms of recovery, after a dangerous or even hopeless illness, manifest themselves by desiring some particular food grateful to the palate;—so persons, who have been given up and left to eat what they chose, have recovered from that very circumstance, when medicine and prescribed diet have failed. All this is from stimulus to the salival glands; and from it I infer the expediency of allowing invalids, except in things manifestly detrimental, to follow their fancy, and, for the same reason, it is desirable to make their meals as cheerful as possible, by the presence of some one agreeable to them, or by any other means.

It is observable that animals, accustomed to feed in company, almost always fall off if placed alone; and with men in training to fight or run, it is of great importance to have some one constantly present to keep their spirits in a pleasing state of excitement.

I will here mention two instances of the effect of the want of mastication. One is in horses; when any derangement in the teeth prevents them from chewing their food the hide becomes hard and dry, more like the covering of a hair trunk than of a living being. The other instance is of a young lady who was subject to dreadful fits, for which no remedy could be discovered, till a physician found out that her teeth were in such a state as effectually to prevent mastication. He adopted the strong measure of causing all her teeth to be drawn, and a fresh set put in, from which time she completely recovered. A skilful dentist once told me that there were people so ignorant, especially ladies, as to avoid mastication in order to save their teeth; whereas the very act is beneficial to them; but still more the effect upon the digestion, upon which the soundness of the teeth depends. Instead then of swallowing the food whole and drowning it in liquid,

which many think harmless provided it is not strong, the proper course is to masticate thoroughly in a cheerful, composed humour, and to drink in sips rather than in large draughts, so as to reduce what is taken into the stomach into a pulpy state, easily and speedily acted upon by the gastric juice. If more liquid is required it is better to take it in moderation an hour or two after eating, when it facilitates instead of impeding digestion; and by this course exercise, at least of a gentle kind, is allowable, almost without restriction as to time, after meals.

A good preventive against a habit of taking large draughts is to use small cups and glasses till a contrary habit is formed; and in general I find a wine-glass a very good regulator in drinking malt liquor, and that it makes a smaller quantity suffice without the danger of forgetting the rule. With moderation in liquids it is much more easy to measure the appetite, and there is very little danger of taking too much solid food.

When the appetite is weak it is difficult to know where is the proper limit in supplying it, as there is no marked sensation. When it is vigorous we eat heartily to a certain point, and then feel distinctly satisfied without any oppression. This is a sort of first appetite, and the moment it is satisfied we ought to leave off. If we go on the stomach seems to suffer a sudden extension, which enables us to eat, without inconvenience at the time, a great deal more than the body requires. Sometimes the extension is longer delayed, and only produced by the action of quantity, or some particular stimulant; and accordingly we see people refuse to eat more in the first instance, and then go on with great willingness. But all this is pernicious, and produces that superfluity in the system which creates a disposition to disease, and which, when carried far, renders disease dangerous or fatal. How common it is to hear people remark that they have dined after the first dish, and then to see them go on for an hour sacrificed to the absurdity of the repast! Pressing to eat or drink, especially children, is a species of civility more honoured in the breach than in the observance.

The appetite ought to be in such a state of vigour, that when satisfied the solid food seems immediately to identify itself with the system; and we ought to feel the liquid we take instantly, to use Falstaff's phrase, "course from the inwards to the parts extreme." Then we rise from meals refreshed, not encumbered.

The signs of this desirable state, as exhibited in the countenance, are clearness and smoothness of complexion, thinness of lips and nose, no wrinkles under the eyes, the eye bright, the mouth inclined to a smile, not drawn down with a sour look, as is the case with an over-

charged digestion. There should be no fulness in the under lip, or uneasy sensation when pressed, which is a sure sign of derangement of the stomach. Most especially, the lower part of the nose should have a clear, healthy appearance, not thickened and full of dark dots and inflammatory impurities, as is so frequently to be observed.

The difference between a pure state and that of irregular living is so great, as to produce in many persons an almost complete change of appearance in expression of countenance and personal attraction; and attention to diet is of the first consequence to those who wish to improve or retain their looks, as well as to enjoy the perfect possession of their faculties.

As a proof of the efficiency of diet, I will here mention what I experienced from attention to it on a particular occasion. In the middle of August, 1822, I travelled in a private carriage from Stuttgard to Paris without stopping, except for an hour and a half each morning to breakfast, being on the road four days and three nights. The course my companion and myself pursued was this. We had a basket which we kept constantly replenished with poultry or game, and bread and fruit. We ate sparingly whenever we felt inclined. We never drank when we ate, but took a little fruit instead. About a couple of hours after a meal, if we felt at all thirsty, we took a little water at the first post-house we came to. By this plan the motion of the carriage did not at all disturb digestion; and notwithstanding the time of year we were entirely without fever or feverishness. We arrived at Paris perfectly fresh, and, after taking a warm bath, supped in the Palais Royal. I afterwards walked on the Boulevards till past midnight, and rose the next morning at six in as composed a state as I ever was in my life.

When we left England in the preceding November, my companion felt heated and much inconvenienced by travelling even so late as ten at night, and we were obliged to remain three days at Lyons to give him time to recover. Between Stuttgard and Paris he enjoyed perfect composure, and on our arrival I observed that, notwithstanding he wore a pair of tight boots all the way, his ankles were not in the least affected with swelling; whereas the courier, who did not understand passing through Champagne without tasting the wine, though he was comfortably seated behind the carriage, had his legs so much swelled that he had some difficulty in getting up stairs. By the same course I believe I could travel indefinitely as to time, not only without inconvenience but in high health.

The precaution of drinking little, and particularly at a sufficient interval after eating, I take to be essential. I also think it very beneficial to have the opportunity of taking food in moderation as soon as

it is desired, by which the irritation of fasting too long is avoided, and the stomach is kept in perpetual good humour. The plan of eating and drinking beforehand, instead of carrying provisions in the carriage, is a very pernicious one, as the food becomes corrupted before it is wanted, and in the mean time produces the uncomforts of fermentation.

And here I have a few desultory observations to make. I have frequently had occasion to remark on the very different state of my feet, that sometimes they were not at all inconvenienced by exercise, and at others liable to blister, or to a sensation of fulness or heat—that at one time I was annoyed by corns, at another perfectly free from them—that the same shoes would be sometimes easy, and at others much too tight—that at some seasons I walked with perfect freedom and alacrity, at others with a difficulty amounting almost to lameness. All these variations, I have long since ascertained, depend entirely upon the state of the digestion, though I have heard my remarks to that effect turned into ridicule by the unthinking. I have now a pair of shoes rather smaller than usual, which have given me an opportunity of making my observations with great accuracy, and I find that by excess of diet, which I have purposely tried, they become so painful that I am obliged to take them off, and even that does not afford instant relief; whilst they are perfectly easy as long as I take only the requisite quantity of food, and at proper times,—for I have proved that so soon as I have fasted too long, uneasiness commences, not to the same extent as from excess, but still that there arises a certain degree of irritability upon which the pressure acts Eating moderately, I find, affords instant relief,—that is, Content the stomach, and every other part will be content. Moreover, provided the digestion is in a perfect state, any inconvenience from external causes, such as from the pressure of shoes actually too small, only lasts as long as the external cause acts. The moment the cause is removed, the effect ceases; but it is otherwise where the frame is out of order from deranged digestion. Then it takes some time for the part affected to recover its tone, or it may be that actual disease is the consequence, according to the force of the cause acting, or the tendency to disease.

People die from a wound in the foot, or a cut finger, on account of their previously improper living, which has disposed their bodies to disease, and the wound or cut is the exciting cause; but with those in perfect health, cure commences immediately after the injury, whether the injury be great or small, provided it is not in a vital part. Hence, in accidents, it is necessary with most people that they should submit to the influence of diet and medicine before a cure can be effected; and the same course is generally pursued before an operation,

the only reason being, that there are very few who live as they ought to do. The difference in the state of health is so great, that the same blow which would cause death in one man, would not even produce discoloration in another.

Once, when I was riding at Rome, my horse suddenly ran up a steep bank, and threw me off behind with great force on my head upon a hard road. I felt a violent shake and a very unpleasant sensation for the moment, but experienced no bad consequences whatever. For some time previously I had been living very carefully as to diet, and had taken a great deal of exercise; otherwise I am confident I should have suffered greatly, if not fatally: as it was, I had no occasion even to take any precaution, and I felt nothing beyond the one shock. Had my vessels been overcharged, the effect must have been very different.

But to return to tight shoes. Everybody must have observed that they are more inconvenient at the end of the day than at the beginning, and most of all after a full dinner, though they may not have been aware that over-fasting will produce something of the same effect, and that consequently the whole is referable to the state of the digestion; for even the fatigue of the day does not act directly upon the limbs, but first upon the powers of the stomach. Restore them, and the sensation of fatigue disappears. Labour and exercise, when the stomach is too full or too empty, especially the former, cause great uneasiness; and as soon as the stomach is relieved the weariness is relieved also. Even that fatigue of the limbs which seems only removable by rest or sleep, I believe equally depends upon the same cause, and that it is the stomach which first requires repose. Where it only requires food, as I have just remarked, the fatigue of the limbs will disappear without rest; when it has received too much food, the fatigue will in like manner be relieved as digestion proceeds. I recollect once, when walking a long distance before breakfast, I became at length so wearied as only to be prevented by my companion from lying down in the road; and when I had breakfasted I was immediately fresher than when I started. After eating too heartily, I have experienced still more distressing weariness, which has gradually disappeared, without any cessation of exercise, as digestion has proceeded. This is something the same as what is called second wind in boxing or running.* It may be said, that when the feet are inconveniently

* [This second wind is generally the direct consequence of a transition from a dry to a moist state of skin. I shall not easily forget the oppression and difficulty of breathing which I felt during the ascent of the Righi early in the morning, so long as the skin remained dry, or the instantaneous and enduring relief that followed at the outbreak of perspiration.]

affected by exercise, they are relieved by placing them in a horizontal position; but I apprehend that position is chiefly beneficial as affecting the connexion with the stomach, and that for any other reason it would be nearly useless;—in short, it appears to me, that in the stomach is the spring, upon which entirely depends every other function, and every other affection of the frame.

With respect to corns, I have been treated with great ridicule for asserting that they are dependent upon the digestion; but I have observed these things, and the ridiculers have not. With me, when I am in the best health, they disappear, and only come, or inconvenience me, in proportion as I am careless. This I have ascertained over and over again. Of course they are made better or worse by different kinds of boots or shoes: but no kind of boot or shoe will bring them, unless there is a tendency from improper living. Pressure would only take effect as long as it lasted, but would cause no formation, without some superfluity to work upon. The reason why corns shoot on the approach of rain is, that the change in the atmosphere more or less deranges the digestion, which causes a throbbing sensation.

I have made these remarks because the state of the feet is of so much importance to our comfort and activity, and because I think they are applicable to the general management of ourselves, and may be useful to those who are subject to gout, rheumatism, cramp, and other diseases of the limbs. My principal aim is to furnish my readers, from my own observation and experience, with sufficient hints to induce them to think, and to notice what happens to themselves. If I am not always perfectly right in what I lay down, I do not much mind that, provided I enable others to get right in detecting my errors. I am sure I am not very far from the truth in my principal positions.

I believe that species of health is the best, and certainly the most prized, which is the result of study and observation, and which is preserved by constant watchfulness and resolution. Anxiety and quackery are destructive of health, but a reasonable attention is absolutely necessary. Those who constitutionally enjoy robust health, seldom know how sufficiently to value it; besides which, for want of discipline, they are not often so well as they think themselves. They frequently mistake strength for health, though they are very different things—as different as St. Paul's clock from a chronometer. The weaker mechanism often goes the best.

I think that those who are so constituted as to be well with care, have on the whole the most reason to be thankful, as being most likely to enjoy permanent well-being of body and mind; there is often a recklessness about constitutional health which is dangerous to both.

I now resume my observations upon diet :—

It requires a great deal of attention, and when living in the world, a great deal of resolution, to observe a proper diet; and it is only a knowledge of its powerful effect both upon body and mind that is likely to induce sufficient care. When taking meals alone, it is most easy to regulate them; but I believe meals were meant to be social, and that a little irregularity in agreeable company is better than the best observance in solitude. They who can unite the advantages of the two states are sure to enjoy the easiest digestion.

In diet, as in most of our habits, we are apt to be content with too low a standard, instead of continually striving to approach the highest point of improvement; and certainly no study can be more interesting in its progress, or more important in its effects. Eating and drinking, reasonably used, are not only extremely pleasant in act, but in their consequences; and a healthy appetite, duly ministered to, would be a source of constant enjoyment without alloy. As we must take nourishment, it appears to me wise to draw as much gratification from it as possible. Epicurism has rather an ill name, but I think very undeservedly, if it does not lead to gluttony, or occupy too great a share of attention.

A dainty meal is something pleasant to look forward to, and the expectation of it gives a wholesome edge to the appetite, and makes business be despatched with alacrity. Let any of my readers call to mind their anticipations in journeying towards a bespoken repast at a favourite inn, and that will put them in the way of appreciating the value of the journey through life of daily anticipations of satisfactory cheer.

To come to particulars: and first of breakfast.—As to this meal, much depends upon constitution and manner of life. Those who are weakly, and those who do not take much exercise, will do well to be rather abstemious at breakfast, lest they anticipate digestion. Those who take exercise before breakfast and rest after, may safely give themselves more latitude than they who observe an opposite course. Moderation in all cases is the safest. I have often remarked, that people who make it their boast that they always eat a hearty breakfast are rather of a full than a healthy habit; and I should not think, as a rule, that the practice is favourable to long life. As digestion is liable to be deranged by the various occupations of the morning, it is expedient to be careful both as to quality and quantity of food. To that end, I hold it desirable to avoid much liquid, the fat or skin of meat, much crumb of untoasted bread, especially newly-baked bread, all spongy substances, and whatever has a tendency to create thirst. Coffee, unless in a small quantity and diluted with milk,

is rather heating: tea, before exercise, or in travelling, I think preferable.

In my own case, I find it best to adhere to one moderate-sized cup of liquid, whether tea, coffee, or cocoa. I prefer brown bread toasted to any other preparation of flour, and if any addition is wanted, I recommend only one on the same occasion, such as eggs, a little meat, bacon, broiled fish, water-cresses, or fruit. Variety, I think good, but not on the same day, especially as it makes it more difficult to measure the appetite.

If anything is required between breakfast and dinner, something simple and in moderation should by all means be taken, as disappointing the appetite, I believe, is much more prejudicial than is generally supposed. Bread and fruit I find very grateful in the middle of the day, and if meat is taken, good table beer, I think, is the most refreshing beverage, or where that is not liked, wine and water. As to dinner, I am of opinion that the consideration of that important meal may most conveniently be referred to my article on the art of dining.

I must defer what I have to say on the subject of dinners, which I consider as an essential part of my articles on health, and proceed to the few remaining topics I mean to touch upon. The first I shall take is *exercise*. Upon this depends vigour of body, and if the mind can be vigorous without, it can be much more so with it. The efficacy of exercise depends upon the time, the quantity, and the manner. The most invigorating time, I should say from experience, is decidedly that during the freshness of the morning air, and before breakfast; but this will not do for invalids, or persons of very weak constitutions, though many underrate their own powers, and think that that is weakness which is only the effect of habit. They should try their strength by degrees, taking moderate doses of exercise at first, and after a small quantity of food, or, what I have before recommended, a few drops of the spirit of lavender on a lump of sugar, the efficacy of which, in preventing faintness or a distressing craving, is great. A few drops of lavender, and a short walk or gentle ride on a fine morning, will give a real appetite to beginners, which may tempt them to persevere till they can perform with ease and pleasure what would have distressed them exceedingly, or been wholly impracticable in the first instance.

I always observe, that being well braced by morning exercise produces an effect that lasts the whole day, and it gives a bloom to the countenance, and causes a general glow, which exercise at no other time can.

I have heretofore spoken at large of taking exercise with reference to meals, both before and after. As to the other parts of the day

besides morning, the time most fit for exercise must depend greatly upon the season. In the depth of winter it is good to catch as much sun as possible, and in the heat of summer to pursue the opposite course. The coldest parts of the day, as a rule, are just before sunrise and sunset, especially the former, and I believe they are the most unwholesome to take exercise in. The French, who observe rules respecting health more strictly than we do, are particularly cautious about sunset, on account of the vapour which usually rises at that time, and which they call *le serein*. The morning air just before sunrise is often, even in warm weather, dreadfully chilly and raw, but there is no great danger of people in general exposing themselves to it. It is different at sunset, and it is then well to be on one's guard, especially if there is any feeling of damp; and particular care should be taken not to rest after exercise, or to do anything to check perspiration at that time, from which the most dangerous, and often fatal maladies originate.

Though I think the fresh morning air the most invigorating in its effects, I have never felt so much alacrity and energy, as when taking exercise, either on foot or horseback, at dead of night, providing the night is clear and dry, and especially during a fine frost. The body and mind seem more in unison under such circumstances than at any other time; and I suppose from such effects that exercise must then be wholesome, but I think it should be after a generous meal, taken some time before. I have never felt my mind so vigorous as when walking home in the country after a dinner-party. The excitement of company and good cheer, heightened by exercise in the refreshing cool of the night, produces an effect on the spirits, unequalled at any other time; and it seems to be something the same with horses, which never go with such alacrity as when returning home after a good feed, and in company, at night.

Persons of different constitutions must judge for themselves at what periods of the day exercise best suits them, but taking care, I must repeat, not to confound the nature of the constitution with the force of habit. The best tests that they are right, will be keenness of appetite, lightness of digestion, and consequent buoyancy of spirits.

The quantity of exercise desirable depends on constitution, time of life, occupation, season, and kind and degree. I cannot say with precision what constitutions require the most. Persons in health, of compact light frame, seem the best adapted to take a great deal with benefit to themselves. Weakly and heavy people are generally distressed by much exertion; but it is difficult to distinguish what is the effect of habit, and what of natural constitution. Those who seem weak, often make themselves strong by a judicious course of management, and the heavy frequently improve astonishingly in

activity by good training. One thing may be taken as certain, and that is, that it is wise to go on by degrees, and to increase the quantity of exercise as it is found to be beneficial; the best tests of which are keenness of appetite and soundness of sleep. Over-exercise ought always to be avoided; but that often depends more upon the manner than the quantity. The same quantity may distress or benefit, as it is taken judiciously or the contrary. Condition also makes an immense difference in the same person.

I remember, when I entered Switzerland after the full living of Germany, I was as different from what I was when I left it, as lead from feathers. In the first case, the ascent of an ordinary hill distressed me, and at last I enjoyed a buoyancy which seemed quite insensible to fatigue.

Females appear to require a much less quantity of exercise than men; and it ought to be gentle and agreeable, instead of violent or long continued. With them, also, much depends upon circumstances; and, in Switzerland, delicate women can take as much exercise without inconvenience as would distress the strongest of the sex in less invigorating countries.

With respect to time of life, the most vigorous periods of course demand the most exercise; but habit has always a great effect, and it is expedient not to relax from indolence instead of inability. As decay comes on, exercise should become moderate, and of short continuance at a time, and should be taken during the most genial periods of the day.

Active occupations either altogether supersede, or diminish the necessity of, exercise for exercise sake; but sedentary or confined employments require a regular course, in order to ensure anything like permanent good health; and the better the air, the more efficacious will be the exercise.

As to seasons, in hot weather the least exercise seems necessary, and that of a gentle kind; in a moderate temperature, the most may be taken with advantage; and when it is cold, exercise should be brisk, and then, from its bracing quality, a little goes a great way.

Quantity of exercise depends very greatly upon kind and degree. That which moderately increases the circulation of the blood, so as to cause a glow on this side perspiration, the soonest suffices. Walking or riding at a brisk pace in a bracing air, or not overstrained exertion in some game which agreeably occupies the mind, will soon produce a sufficient effect. Where the mind is not engaged, much more exercise is required than where it is; and a small quantity of violent exercise is not so beneficial as a greater quantity of moderate. On the other hand, a greater quantity of sluggish exertion does not

possess the efficacy of a smaller quantity of an animating kind. Less of varied exertion, which brings the different muscles into play, will suffice, than of exertion all of the same kind : as walking over hill and dale promotes circulation more than walking over a flat surface, and different paces in riding are better than a uniform one.

Unless exercise produces a glow, it falls short of its proper effect, and it will do this in the shortest time, when it is moderate, varied, and pleasing, and in an invigorating atmosphere. Violent exercise produces temporary strength, but with a wear and tear of the constitution, and it often induces a tendency to disease, besides the danger of bodily injury from many causes.

As to manner of exercising, there is every degree from the easiest carriage to the roughest horse. Carriage exercise is of a very inferior kind in an invigorating point of view, and to the robust is scarcely exercise at all; but to others it is very beneficial, though perhaps rather in the way of taking air than taking exercise, and it has the effect of diverting the mind. To this end it is most efficacious amidst new scenes.

The most effective mode of all of taking exercise is, I believe, on horseback, and if it will not put those who can bear it into high health, I think nothing else will. For effect on the health and spirits I know nothing like a brisk ride on a good horse, through a pleasant country, with an agreeable companion, on a beautiful day. The exercise is thoroughly efficient, without either labour or fatigue, the mind is entirely in unison with the body, and the constant current of pure air produces the most vigorous tone. I have frequently heard of journeys on horseback restoring health, when everything else has failed. A solitary ride on an unwilling horse over well-known ground, for the mere sake of the ride, produces, comparatively speaking, very little benefit; and care should be taken to make this kind of exercise, as well as every other, as attractive as possible.

Exercise on foot has many advantages. It is the most independent mode, is within everybody's reach, is the least trouble, and can be taken when other modes are not practicable, and is very efficacious. The feeling of independence is by no means the least of its advantages, and those who have the free use of their limbs have no occasion to envy their superiors in wealth their command of carriages and horses, about which there are constant drawbacks. Although I delight in a horse at times, yet I often think that on the whole the balance is against him on the score of freedom and independence.

I have made many journeys on foot, and I do not know that, with good management, there is any mode of travelling which is capable of so much enjoyment with so little alloy. Horse exercise, on particular

occasions, is certainly the most animating and delightful, but at other times it is attended with greater inconveniences. Exercise on foot derives much of its efficacy from being made attractive. A walk for a walk's sake is only half beneficial, and, if possible, there should be some object in view, something to engage and satisfy the mind. Games, dancing, fencing, and such like accomplishments, derive a great deal of their benefit from the pleasure we take in them; and in contested games, care should be taken to avoid anxiety and over-ardent exertion. There is a middle state of the mind between indifference and too much eagerness, which is the most favourable to health; as there is a middle circulation of the blood between languor and a state of fever.

In taking exercise, this rule should always be observed, to begin and end gently. Beginning violently hurries the circulation, and ending violently is very apt to induce colds and fever, and, besides, causes a stiffness in the joints and muscles. The blood should have time gradually to resume its ordinary current, or it has a tendency to settle in the small vessels, which is a cause of great inconvenience. Cooling gradually will prevent this.

The next thing I have to consider is *sleep*, upon the quantity and quality of which health mainly depends. I believe the general custom is to take too much sleep. What quantity is really necessary must depend upon various constitutions and various circumstances in the same constitutions; but the rule is, as I think, that we should have one sound sleep, from which we should wake perfectly refreshed, without any heavy or drowsy sensation, or any wish to fall asleep again.

The length of this sleep will depend upon way of living, quantity of exertion mental or bodily, state of the atmosphere, and other causes; but still the one sound sleep is the true measure. Falling short of this, or exceeding it, are both prejudicial. The first produces fever, the second languor.

Our energy depends in a very great degree upon taking no more than the due quantity of sleep. In order to ensure its quality, we should lie down free from care, and have no anxiety about waking, which is destructive of perfect soundness. Our waking should be entirely voluntary, the result of the complete restoration of the powers.

The quality of sleep depends upon attention to diet, exercise, and state of the mind, and in a great measure upon going to bed in a properly prepared state, neither feverish nor chilly, neither hungry nor overloaded, but in an agreeable composure and state of satisfaction of both body and mind. It is better to retire to rest from society than from solitude, and from cheerful relaxation than from immediate labour and study. The practice, which some people have, of sitting their fire

out, and going to bed starved, with their mind fatigued with study, is the reverse of what is expedient; and sleep under such circumstances is of a very unsatisfactory nature. It is rather productive of what Milton calls unrest than rest.

Sleep, to enjoy it perfectly, requires observation and attention, and all who wish for high health will do well to keep the subject in their minds, because upon themselves chiefly depends the attainment of this, one of the greatest blessings of life.

State of the Mind.—Attention to health has a powerful influence on the state of the mind, and the state of the mind has a powerful influence on health. There is one state of the mind which depends upon the health, and another which depends partly upon external circumstances. This latter state, though it cannot be altogether regulated by attention to health, may be materially affected by it, and depression may be diminished and buoyancy increased in a very considerable degree. Where there is nothing particularly to affect the mind in the way of good fortune or of bad, of annoyance or of pleasure, its state depends almost, if not entirely, upon the state of the health, and the same individual will be happy or miserable in the proportion that the health is regulated.

I have known cases of people, who laboured under depression to a most distressing degree, restored to high spirits merely by a long journey on horseback; and universally, exertion which is productive of interest to the mind, where there is no external cause of annoyance, raises the spirits to a state of positive enjoyment, which may be still further increased by attention to temperance, cleanliness, and moderation in sleep. Where the state of the mind depends entirely upon attention to health, I can only refer to what I have recommended in the different articles I have already given on the subject of health. Where it depends upon the influence of external circumstances, I shall also request attention to the tone which pervades all that I have written with reference to habits of living and modes of thinking; because I have throughout endeavoured to enforce doctrines founded on reasonableness and the spirit of contentment.

It is good not to seek after those things, the disappointment of missing which is greater than the pleasure of attaining: and such is the case with all the vanities of the world. The irksomeness of pursuing, and the emptiness of enjoyment, I think, are generally about equal; whilst the mortification of failure is ever most bitter with respect to things in themselves worthless or troublesome.

The greatest of all arts to prevent unhappiness is not to place too much value on the opinion of others. Here is the grand source of all anxiety, the thinking what others will think; and that is the feeling

which is most unfavourable to real health. It suspends and deranges the functions to a most prejudicial extent, even about trifles, when serious calamity, which does not touch the pride, is met with calmness and resignation. Pride is mixed up with almost all human feeling, and in proportion as reason and religion can clear it away, the feelings will be sound and healthy, and will contribute to the soundness and health of the body. To desire nothing but what is worth attaining, to proportion our wants to our means of satisfying them without too much sacrifice, to value what we gain or lose as it affects ourselves only, and not as weighed in the balance of others, is the state of mind which will most conduce to our health.

I have heretofore enlarged in several places upon the great, and often sudden effects, the state of the mind has upon that of the body, both for good and ill; and it is only by constant mental discipline, and by observation, that that tone can be acquired, which gives due smoothness, and regularity, and activity, to physical action.

The state of the atmosphere has influence upon the health in various degrees. No one is entirely independent of such influence; but the more we attend to the due regulation of our health, the less we feel outward changes. Persons who have contracted habits of indolence and indulgence, are the most subject to be affected by atmospheric influences, and they are often wretched martyrs to them. With vessels overcharged and nerves unbraced, the slightest change causes the most distressing sensations.

I believe that moderation in liquids is one of the best preservatives against such evils—I mean liquids of all kinds, for some people think that it is only the strength of liquids that is prejudicial, whereas quantity is to be guarded against as well as quality, by those who wish to enjoy good health. Water, tea, and all sorts of slops, ought to be used with great moderation, or it is in vain to hope for a vigorous tone. A dry, cool atmosphere seems to be the most favourable to a high state of health, though it may not best suit many morbid constitutions, and persons labouring under particular diseases.

Temperance and activity will render the constitution almost proof against baneful influences of the atmosphere, but attention to diet and dress are also advisable, as well as caution in exposure to the outward air. Besides the ordinary changes in the atmosphere, a great deal depends on situation, and therefore those who are able, do well to avail themselves of the opportunity of choosing such situations as, either for temporary reasons, or permanently, agree with them best. A good choice of situation will often produce health, or continue it, more effectually than anything else. Discrimination is necessary in this; for those situations which are the most favourable to a high state of health, may

be dangerous to those who are only making their approaches to it. An invalid, or person of delicate constitution, by beginning in the valley, may perhaps end a hardy mountaineer. The influence of the atmosphere is a fit subject for constant observation, and can only be well understood by that process; I mean reasonable observation, and not that of hypochondriacal and nervous people.

The last subject I have to touch upon in respect to health, is *cleanliness.* It is of great importance, and requires much attention and considerable labour in the advancement towards health, especially in particular kinds of morbid affections: but in an actual state of high health, it is not only easy of attainment, but it is hardly possible to be avoided. There is an activity which prevents impurity from within, and repels it from without. There are all degrees, from a sluggish, impure perspiration to an imperceptible radiation. In the first case, continual efforts of cleanliness can still not produce it in a high degree; and in the second, it is there without any effort at all. People who are laboriously clean, are never very clean: that is, they are not pure. Purity is a sort of self-acting cleanliness; it arises from attention to system, and cleanliness is a mere outward operation.

There are many people, who think themselves very clean, who are only whitened sepulchres; and, however they labour, will never succeed, unless by attention to something more than soap and water. What I have said in the beginning of these articles on an extreme state of cleanliness, though difficult to be comprehended, or believed by those who have not put themselves into a high state of health, is yet literally true. Cleanliness contributes to health, and health contributes to cleanliness; and I cannot too strongly recommend attention to it, at the same time repeating that the outward operation alone, without attention to the system, will prove very inefficient.

I have now come to a conclusion of my articles on the art of attaining high health. I could have said a great deal more on many of the heads, and may hereafter touch upon some of them occasionally; but as my principal aim has been to put my readers in the right way, and to set them to think for themselves, I have thought it better not to enter more into detail. Where I am right, I hope they will follow me, to their own advantage; and where I am wrong, it may perhaps lead some of them to discover what is right, for the sake of detecting my errors. If the truth is only discovered between us, I do not much care by which side.

[This is the most suitable place for the following article. It is calculated to arouse a wholesome suspicion in the minds of a certain interesting class of invalids.]

SICK WIVES.

I am strongly of opinion that sick wives are very interesting for a short time, and very dull for a long one. It is of great importance that females of all classes should reflect upon this distinction, and not abuse a privilege most readily granted them, if exercised within the bounds of moderation.

Nothing is so tedious as uniformity; and as, under the bright sky of Italy, one sometimes sighs for a cloud, so in long-continued health a slight ailment now and then is not without its advantages. In a wife it naturally calls forth the attentions of the husband, and freshens the delicacy of his affections, which gratifying effects, it is to be feared, tend frequently, in minds not well disciplined or strongly constituted, to generate habits of selfishness, and a sort of sickly appetite for indulgence. I seem to have observed that husbands, after a certain duration of ill health in their wives, begin to manifest something of impatience, afterwards of indifference, and lastly of weariness, however much they may keep up their attentions, and try to disguise their feelings; and I am sure there are not a few, who begin to calculate and look out, before they are lawfully entitled so to do. I would not for the world mention these horrid truths, but from a conviction that those who are ill all their lives, might be well all their lives, if they took due care, or put proper restraints upon themselves. Finding illness answer, in the first instance, they are too apt to neglect, or even encourage it, till it becomes a habit, and then the rest of their habits become conformable—to the metamorphosis of the unfortunate husband's home into an hospital.

Perhaps the husband may in part thank himself for his state, for not having shown firmness soon enough; and I would advise, that when things seem to be hastening on to this course, under the auspices of some silky medical attendant, he be as speedily as possible replaced by one of rougher mould, by way of experiment. When a course of treatment long tried produces no benefit, but rather the reverse, it is good to try a change, and therefore, if uninterrupted indulgence cannot effect a cure, if every request complied with, every wish anticipated, only aggravates the evil, probably a dose or two of privation might be of service. If business neglected and pleasure foregone have been in vain, why should not a round of engagements be called in aid? A party of pleasure, with a few agreeable female friends, might produce a turn in a long-standing disorder, when nothing else could, and, being repeated at proper intervals, might effect a permanent cure.

I admit this is a strong remedy, a sort of mineral poison, likely in the first instance to cause an access of malady; but anger is a strong

stimulant, and tears often afford great relief, and a desire to witness what is going forward hath a wonderful efficacy in rousing to exertion. I have the more faith in such medicines, because I have often known a sick wife completely cured for a time by the serious illness of her husband, or her children, or by any exciting event, either of joy or grief.

This is a subject of great importance, for it concerns the well-being of so many homes, the comfort and morals of so many men, the good training of so many children, and the peaceable enjoyments of so many dependents. The instances of habitual illness, which could not have been prevented by care at first, or by prudence and resolution afterwards, must be too few to have much effect on domestic enjoyment, and when they do occur, they ought to meet with unceasing consideration, especially as they are almost ever borne with an instructive patience and resignation. But it is far otherwise with the ill-health I mean, which has its origin and its continuance, one or both, in mismanagement; and those who suffer themselves to be the victims of it, ordinarily exact, under one guise or other, a very annoying degree of sacrifice from all about them. The sooner the evil is put out of fashion the better.

II. ARISTOLOGY, OR THE ART OF DINING.

According to the lexicons, the Greek for dinner is Ariston, and therefore, for the convenience of the terms, and without entering into any inquiry, critical or antiquarian, I call the art of dining Aristology, and those who study it, Aristologists.

The maxim, that practice makes perfect, does not apply to our daily habits; for, so far as they are concerned, we are ordinarily content with the standard of mediocrity, or something rather below. Where study is not absolutely necessary, it is by most people altogether dispensed with; but it is only by an union of study and practice, that we can attain anything like perfection.

Anybody can dine, but very few know how to dine, so as to ensure the greatest quantity of health and enjoyment—indeed, many people contrive to destroy their health; and as to enjoyment, I shudder when I think how often I have been doomed to only a solemn mockery of it; how often I have sat in durance stately, to go through the ceremony of dinner, the essence of which is to be without ceremony, and how often in this land of liberty I have felt myself a slave!

There are three kinds of dinners—solitary dinners, every-day social

dinners, and set dinners; all three involving the consideration of cheer, and the last two of society also. Solitary dinners, I think, ought to be avoided as much as possible, because solitude tends to produce thought, and thought tends to the suspension of the digestive powers. When, however, dining alone is necessary, the mind should be disposed to cheerfulness by a previous interval of relaxation from whatever has seriously occupied the attention, and by directing it to some agreeable object. As contentment ought to be an accompaniment to every meal, punctuality is essential, and the diner and the dinner should be ready at the same time.

A chief maxim in dining with comfort is, to have what you want when you want it. It is ruinous to have to wait for first one thing and then another, and to have the little additions brought, when what they belong to is half or entirely finished. To avoid this a little foresight is good, and, by way of instance, it is sound practical philosophy to have mustard upon the table before the arrival of toasted cheese. This very omission has caused as many small vexations in the world, as would by this time make a mountain of misery. Indeed, I recommend an habitual consideration of what adjuncts will be required to the main matters; and I think an attention to this, on the part of females, might often be preventive of sour looks and cross words, and their anti-conjugal consequences.

There are not only the usual adjuncts, but to those who have anything of a genius for dinners, little additions will sometimes suggest themselves, which give a sort of poetry to a repast, and please the palate to the promotion of health. As our senses were made for our enjoyment, and as the vast variety of good things in the world were designed for the same end, it seems a sort of impiety not to put them to their best uses, provided it does not cause us to neglect higher considerations. The different products of the different seasons, and of the different parts of the earth, afford endless proofs of bounty, which it is as unreasonable to reject, as it is to abuse.

It has happened, that those who have made the gratification of the appetite a study, have generally done so to excess, and to the exclusion of nobler pursuits; whilst, on the other hand, such study has been held to be incompatible with moral refinement and elevation. But there is a happy mean, and as upon the due regulation of the appetite assuredly depends our physical well-being, and upon that, in a great measure, our mental energies, it seems to me that the subject is worthy of attention, for reasons of more importance than is ordinarily supposed.

There is in the art of dining a matter of special importance.—I mean *Attendance*,—the real end of which is to do that for you which

you cannot so well do for yourself. Unfortunately this end is generally lost sight of, and the effect of attendance is to prevent you from doing that which you could do much better for yourself. The cause of this perversion is to be found in the practice and example of the rich and ostentatious, who constantly keep up a sort of war-establishment, or establishment adapted to extraordinary instead of ordinary occasions, and the consequence is that, like all potentates who follow the same policy, they never really taste the sweets of peace; they are in a constant state of invasion by their own troops.

It is a rule at dinners not to allow you to do anything for yourself, and I have never been able to understand how even salt, except it be from some superstition, has so long maintained its place on table. I am always in dread that, like the rest of its fellows, it will be banished to the side-board, to be had only on special application. I am rather a bold man at table, and set form very much at defiance, so that if a salad happens to be within my reach, I make no scruple to take it to me; but the moment I am espied, it is nipped up from the most convenient into the most inconvenient position. That such absurdity should exist amongst rational beings, and in a civilized country, is extraordinary! See a small party with a dish of fish at each end of the table, and four silver covers staring unmeaningly at the sides, whilst everything pertaining to the fish comes, even with the best attendance, provokingly lagging, one thing after another, so that contentment is out of the question; and all this is done under pretence that it is the most convenient plan. This is an utter fallacy. The only convenient plan is to have everything actually upon the table that is wanted at the same time, and nothing else; as for example, for a party of eight, turbot and salmon, with doubles of each of the adjuncts, lobster-sauce, cucumber, poung potatoes, cayenne, and Chili vinegar, and let the guests assist one another, which, with such an arrangement, they could do with perfect ease. This is undisturbed and visible comfort.

I am speaking now only with reference to small parties. As to large ones, they have long been to me scenes of despair in the way of convivial enjoyment. A system of simple attendance would induce a system of simple dinners, which are the only dinners to be desired. The present system I consider strongly tainted with barbarism and vulgarity, and far removed from real and refined enjoyment. As tables are now arranged, one is never at peace from an arm continually taking off or setting on a side-dish, or reaching over to a wine-cooler in the centre. Then comes the more laborious changing of courses, with the leanings right and left, to admit a host of dishes, that are set on only to be taken off again, after being declined in succession by

each of the guests, to whom they are handed round. Yet this is fashion, and not to be departed from.

With respect to wine, it is often offered, when not wanted; and when wanted, is perhaps not to be had till long waited for. It is dreary to observe two guests, glass in hand, waiting the butler's leisure to be able to take wine together, and then perchance being helped in despair to what they did not ask for; and it is still more dreary to be one of the two yourself. How different, where you can put your hand upon a decanter at the moment you want it! I could enlarge upon and particularize these miseries at great length; but they must be only too familiar to those who dine out, and those who do not may congratulate themselves on their escape.

I have been speaking hitherto of attendance in its most perfect state; but then comes the greater inconvenience, and the monstrous absurdity of the same forms with inadequate establishments. Those who are overwhelmed with an establishment are, as it were, obliged in self-defence to devise work for their attendants, whilst those who have no such reason ape an example which, under the most appropriate circumstances, is a state of restraint and discomfort, but which, when followed merely for fashion's sake, becomes absolutely intolerable. I remember once receiving a severe frown from a lady at the head of her table, next to whom I was sitting, because I offered to take some fish from her, to which she had helped me, instead of waiting till it could be handed to me by her one servant: and she was not deficient either in sense or good breeding; but when people give into such follies, they know no mean. It is one of the evils of the present day, that everybody strives after the same dull style—so that where comfort might be expected, it is often least to be found. State, without the machinery of state, is of all states the worst.

In conclusion of this part of my subject, I will observe, that I think the affluent would render themselves and their country an essential service if they were to fall into the simple, refined style of living, discarding everything incompatible with real enjoyment; and I believe, that if the history of overgrown luxury were traced, it has always had its origin from the vulgar rich—the very last class worthy of imitation. Although I think a reduction of establishment would often conduce to the enjoyment of life, I am very far from wishing to see any class curtailed in the means of earning their bread; but it appears to me, that the rich might easily find more profitable and agreeable modes of employing the industrious, than in ministering to pomp and parade.

And now for a case in point. Like other people, I suppose I can write most easily upon what is freshest in my mind, I will therefore

give you, dear reader, an account of a dinner I have ordered this very day at Lovegrove's, at Blackwall, where if you never dined, so much the worse for you. This account will serve as an illustration of my doctrines on dinner-giving better than a long abstract discourse. The party will consist of seven men beside myself, and every guest is asked for some reason—upon which good fellowship mainly depends; for people brought together unconnectedly had, in my opinion, better be kept separate. Eight I hold to be the golden number, never to be exceeded without weakening the efficacy of concentration. The dinner is to consist of turtle, followed by no other fish but whitebait, which is to be followed by no other meat but grouse, which are to be succeeded simply by apple fritters and jelly; pastry on such occasions being quite out of place. With the turtle of course there will be punch, with the whitebait champagne, and with the grouse claret: the two former I have ordered to be particularly well iced, and they will all be placed in succession upon the table, so that we can help ourselves as we please. I shall permit no other wines, unless, perchance, a bottle or two of port, if particularly wanted, as I hold variety of wines a great mistake. With respect to the adjuncts, I shall take care that there is cayenne, with lemons cut in halves, not in quarters, within reach of every one, for the turtle, and that brown bread-and-butter in abundance is set upon the table for the whitebait. It is no trouble to think of these little matters beforehand, but they make a vast difference in convivial contentment. The dinner will be followed by ices, and a good dessert, after which coffee and one glass of liqueur each, and no more; so that the present may be enjoyed rationally without inducing retrospective regrets.

If the master of a feast wishes his party to succeed, he must know how to command, and not let his guests run riot, each according to his own wild fancy.

Such, reader, is my idea of a dinner, of which I hope you approve; and I cannot help thinking that if Parliament were to grant me 10,000*l.* a year, in trust, to entertain a series of worthy persons, it would promote trade and increase the revenue more than any hugger-mugger measure ever devised.

This dinner at Blackwall was served according to my directions, both as to the principal dishes and the adjuncts, with perfect exactness, and went off with corresponding success. The turtle and whitebait were excellent; the grouse not quite of equal merit; and the apple fritters so much relished, that they were entirely cleared, and the jelly left untouched. The only wines were champagne and claret, and they both gave great satisfaction. As soon as the liqueurs were handed round once, I ordered them out of the room; and the only

heresy committed was by one of the guests asking for a glass of bottled porter, which I had not the presence of mind instantly to forbid.

There was an opinion broached that some flounders water-zoutcheed, between the turtle and whitebait, would have been an improvement,—and perhaps they would.

I dined again yesterday at Blackwall as a guest, and I observed that my theory as to adjuncts was carefully put in practice, so that I hope the public will be a gainer.

In order to bring the dinner system to perfection according to my idea, it would be necessary to have a room contrived on the best possible plan for eight persons, as the greatest number. I almost think six even more desirable than eight; but beyond eight, as far as my experience goes, there is always a division into parties, or a partial languor, or sort of paralysis either of the extremities or centre, which has more or less effect upon the whole.

For complete enjoyment a company ought to be One; sympathizing and drawing together, listening and talking in due proportions—no monopolists, nor any ciphers. With the best arrangements, much will depend upon the chief of the feast giving the tone, and keeping it up. Paulus Æmilius, who was the most successful general and best entertainer of his time, seems to have understood this well; for he said that it required the same sort of spirit to manage a banquet as a battle, with this difference, that the one should be made as pleasant to friends, and the other as formidable to enemies, as possible. I often think of this excellent saying at large dinner-parties, where the master and mistress preside as if they were the humblest of the guests, or as if they were overwhelmed with anxiety respecting their cumbrous and pleasure-destroying arrangements. They appear not to have the most distant idea of the duties of commanders, and instead of bringing their troops regularly into action, they leave the whole army in reserve. They should at least now and then address each of their guests by name, and, if possible, say something by which it may be guessed who and what each person is. I have witnessed some ridiculous and almost incredible instances of these defects. I remember once at a large dinner-party at a great house, the lion of the day not being called out once, and going away without the majority of the company suspecting who he was. On a similar occasion, as a very distinguished man left the drawing-room, a scarcely less distinguished lady inquired who that gentleman was, who had been talking so long to her,—though she had sat opposite to him at dinner.*

* [I once witnessed a ludicrous instance of the truth of what is stated in the text. An eminent member of my own profession and an equally eminent *littérateur* were dining at the same table. In the course of conversation, something was said about

It appears to me that nothing can be better contrived to defeat its legitimate end, than a large dinner party in the London season,—sixteen, for instance. The names of the guests are generally so announced that it is difficult to hear them, and in the earlier part of the year, the assembling takes place in such obscurity, that it is impossible to see. Then there is often a tedious and stupefying interval of waiting, caused perhaps by some affected fashionable, some important politician, or some gorgeously-decked matron, or it may be by some culinary accident. At last comes the formal business of descending into the dining-room, where the blaze of light produces by degrees sundry recognitions; but many a slight acquaintance is prevented from being renewed by the chilling mode of assembling. In the long days the light is more favourable, but the waiting is generally more tedious, and half the guests are perhaps leaving the park, when they ought to be sitting down to dinner.

At table, intercourse is prevented as much as possible by a huge centre-piece of plate and flowers, which cuts off about one half the company from the other, and some very awkward mistakes have taken place in consequence, from guests having made personal observations upon those who were actually opposite to them. It seems strange that people should be invited, to be hidden from one another. Besides the centre-piece, there are usually massive branches, to assist in interrupting communication; and perhaps you are placed between two persons with whom you are not acquainted, and have no community of interest to induce you to become so, for in the present overgrown state of society, a new acquaintance, except for some particular reason, is an encumbrance to be avoided.

When the company is arranged, then comes the perpetual motion of the attendants, the perpetual declining of what you do not want, and the perpetual waiting for what you do, or a silent resignation to your fate. To desire a potato, and to see the dish handed to your next neighbour, and taking its course in a direction from you, round an immense table, with occasional retrograde movements and digressions, is one of the unsatisfactory occurrences which frequently take place; but perhaps

lawyers, when the former uttered something in disparagement of that profession. The latter made a stately bow, and begged to observe that he was a lawyer. Soon after the navy was the subject of discourse. Another disparaging remark from the same quarter, another polite bow, and "I beg to inform you that I once had the honour of bearing her Majesty's commission in the Royal Navy." Then, after an interval, the order of knighthood coming under discussion, became, in its turn, the subject of a depreciating remark, to meet with the same polite rebuke. "Sir, I beg to inform you that I have the honour to be a knight." The story is worth telling for the strangeness of the coincidence which rendered it possible, no less than for the lesson of reticence it conveys.]

the most distressing incident in a grand dinner is, to be asked to take champagne, and, after much delay, to see the butler extract the bottle from a cooler, and hold it nearly parallel to the horizon, in order to calculate how much he is to put into the first glass to leave any for the second. To relieve him and yourself from the chilling difficulty, the only alternative is to change your mind, and prefer sherry, which, under the circumstances, has rather an awkward effect. These and an infinity of minor evils are constantly experienced amidst the greatest displays, and they have from sad experience made me come to the conclusion, that a combination of state and calculation is the horror of horrors. Some good bread and cheese, and a jug of ale, comfortably set before me, and heartily given, are heaven and earth in comparison.

I must not omit to mention, amongst other obstacles to sociability, the present excessive breadth of fashionable tables for the purpose of holding, first, the cumbrous ornaments and lights before spoken of; secondly, in some cases, the dessert, at the same time with the side-dishes; and, lastly, each person's cover, with its appurtenances; so that to speak across the table, and through the intervening objects, is so inconvenient as to be nearly impracticable. To crown all, is the ignorance of what you have to eat, and the impossibility of duly regulating your appetite. To be sure, in many particulars you may form a tolerably accurate guess, as that, at one season, there will be partridges in the third course, and at another, pigeons, in dull routine.

No wonder that such a system produces many a dreary pause, in spite of every effort to the contrary, and that one is obliged, in self-defence, to crumble bread, sip wine, look at the paintings if there are any, or if there are not, blazon the arms on the plates, or, lastly, retreat into oneself in despair, as I have often and often done. When dinner is over, there is no peace till each dish in the dessert has made its circuit, after which the wine moves languidly round two or three times, and then settles for the rest of the evening, and coffee and small talk finish the heartless affair.

I do not mean to say that such dinner-parties as I have been describing have not frequently many redeeming circumstances. Good breeding, wit, talent, information, and every species of agreeable quality, are to be met with there; but I think these would appear to much greater advantage, and much oftener, under a more simple and unrestrained system. After curiosity has been satisfied, and experience ripened, I imagine most people retire from the majority of formal dinners rather wearied than repaid, and that a feeling of real enjoyment is the exception, and not the rule. In the long-run, there is no compensation for ease; and ease is not to be found in state and super-

abundance, but in having what you want when you want it, and with no temptation to excess.

The legitimate objects of dinner are to refresh the body, to please the palate, and to raise the social humour to the highest point; but these objects, so far from being studied, in general are not even thought of, and display and an adherence to fashion are their meagre substitutes. Hence it is, that gentlemen ordinarily understand what pertains to dinner-giving so much better than ladies, and that bachelors' feasts are so popular. Gentlemen keep more in view the real ends, whereas ladies think principally of display and ornament, of form and ceremony—not all, for some have excellent notions of taste and comfort; and the cultivation of them would seem to be the peculiar province of the sex, as one of the chief features in household management.

There is one female failing in respect to dinners, which I cannot help here noticing, and that is, a very inconvenient love of garnish and flowers, either natural or cut in turnips and carrots, and stuck on dishes, so as greatly to impede carving and helping. This is the true barbarian principle of ornament, and is in no way distinguishable from the "untutored Indian's" fondness for feathers and shells. In both cases the ornament is an encumbrance, and has no relation to the matter on which it is placed. But there is a still worse practice, and that is pouring sauce over certain dishes to prevent them from looking too plain, as parsley and butter, or white sauce over boiled chickens. I cannot distinguish this taste from that of the Hottentot besmearing himself with grease, or the Indian with red paint, who, I suppose, have both the same reason for their practice. To my mind, good meat well cooked, the plainer it looks the better it looks, and it certainly is better with the accessories kept separate till used, unless they form a part of the dish.

I shall now give my ideas of what dinners ought to be. I shall begin with repeating a preceding passage :—

"In order to bring the dinner system to perfection according to my idea, it would be necessary to have a room contrived on the best possible plan for eight persons, as the greatest number. I almost think six even more desirable than eight; but beyond eight, as far as my experience goes, there is always a division into parties, or a partial languor, or a sort of paralysis either of the extremities or centre, which has more or less effect upon the whole. For complete enjoyment, a company ought to be One; sympathizing and drawing together, listening and talking in due proportions—no monopolists, nor any ciphers." I am now supposing the whole object to be the perfection of dinner-parties, without reference to number of family or acquaintance, and without reference to display or any other considera-

tion; but I suppose every other consideration postponed to convivial enjoyment alone.

Spacious and lofty rooms destroy, or at least weaken, that feeling of concentration which is essential to perfect fellowship. There is a sort of evaporation of one's self, or flying off into the void, which impairs that force of attention necessary to give and receive complete enjoyment. A party, to use a familiar phrase, should be, as it were, boxed up, comfortably packed, with room enough, but not to spare, or, as the French revolutionists used to have it, should be "one and indivisible." Those who have dined in the very small rooms, called *cabinets particuliers*, at the *restaurants* at Paris, must have remarked the beneficial influence of compactness im promoting hilarity, and banishing abstraction and restraint; but those rooms have no other desirable qualification but their smallness, which is often extreme, and they have not been originally contrived for the purpose for which they are used, yet they have a capability of producing more of a festive disposition than is to be found amidst space and display.

Dining-rooms in London are in general, I think, very tasteless and uninspiring in themselves, and, when set out, they are decorated, after the barbarian style, rather for display than with reference to their use. From the architect to the table-decorator, there seems to be a total absence of genius for the real objects to be aimed at. Justness of proportion, harmony of colouring, and disposition of light, are the most desirable qualities in any room, but especially in a dining-room, without any individual ornaments or objects to distract the attention; so that the moment one enters, there may be a feeling of fitness, which is productive of undisturbed satisfaction, and disposes the mind to the best state for enjoyment. Attention should be directed to produce an effect from the whole, and not by the parts. For this reason light should be thrown in the least observable manner, and not ostentatiously from ornamental objects. There should be the pleasing effect of good light, with the least perception whence it comes. There is no art in lighting a table by cumbrous branches; but there is in throwing a light upon it, as in some of Rembrandt's paintings, and the effect is accordingly. The first is vulgar; the latter refined. In the same manner light from windows should be admitted only with reference to the table; and during dinner the view should be shut out to prevent distraction.

With respect to the proportions of a room, they should be studied with reference to the table, which, as I have said, should in my opinion be of the size to accommodate not more than eight persons. In point of width, I would not have more space than necessary for the convenient circulation of the least possible number of attendants. In

point of length, there should be room for a sideboard at one end, and a sufficient space from the fireplace at the other; so that the length of the room would be somewhat greater than the width. In respect to height, it should be proportioned to the length and width, and therefore the height would not be considerable. A high room is certainly not favourable to conversation, because it is contrary to the principle of concentration; and the prejudice in favour of height arises from its effect considered with respect to large parties, and to overloaded tables. I would have the door in the side, at the end near the sideboard, and the windows on the side opposite. As to colouring, the same rule ought to be observed as in everything else, that is, to study general effect. To suit all seasons best, I think the walls ought to be of rather a sober colour, with drapery of a warm appearance for cold weather, and the contrary for hot.

Perhaps it may be thought by many, that all these particulars are very immaterial, and that the consideration of them is very trifling; but my opinion is, that in all our actions, whether with reference to business or pleasure, it is a main point, in the first place, to produce a suitable disposition; and as dining is an occurrence of every day of our lives, or nearly so, and as our health and spirits depend in a great measure upon our vivid enjoyment of this our chief meal, it seems to me a more worthy object of study than those unreal occupations about which so many busy themselves in vain.

But I am forgetting an important matter in the dining-room; I mean the due regulation of the temperature, upon which comfort so much depends, and from want of attention to which, there is annually so much suffering both from heat and cold. In hot weather the difficulty is the greatest, and is best to be overcome by attention to ventilation and blinds. In winter there is little difficulty, with due care and no stinginess, which latter is apt to appear both in having the fire only lighted just before dinner, and in not keeping it up properly to the end of the party; and I here protest against the practice I have often witnessed, of letting the fire actually go out in cold weather before the guests. Nothing is more cheerless, or of more inhospitable appearance. On the other hand, a bright blazing fire has a very inspiring effect on entering the dining-room, and is an object worthy of special attention to those who wish their parties to succeed. Moreover, in such a room as I have described, the re-arrangement of the party after dinner to admit a cheerful fire on a dreary day is a very inspiring moment with an agreeable party brought into perfect unison by a well-imagined, well-executed repast—a scene to kindle equally attachment to one's friends, and love of one's country. The cultivation of the fire-side is one of the greatest import, public and private.

Having said, I think, everything I have to say as to the arrangement of the dining-room till I come to the table, I will here dedicate a word or two to its necessary appendage, the kitchen, which I would have literally an appendage, and not, as at present, a distant and unconnected establishment. As I said before, I am now supposing the whole object to be the perfection of dinner-parties, without reference to any other consideration, and therefore I put aside custom, fashion, and prejudice, as enemies to the true theory and practice, and I boldly advance my own opinions. I must beg the reader to bear in mind, that I am speaking in reference to small parties, and that I am an advocate for dinners which, as nearly as can be calculated, are just enough, and no more. I speak not of the bustle of preparation for twelve, sixteen, or twenty people, with about four times as much as they can possibly consume, and with a combination of overpowering heat and disagreeable scents. I have in view a quiet little kitchen, without noise, or annoying heat, or odour, save some simple savoury one, provocative of the appetite, and incapable of offending the most fastidious. Such an establishment I would have immediately adjoining my dining-room, and communicating with it by an entrance close to the sideboard, closed during the process of dinner by a curtain only, so that the dishes could be brought in without noise, or current of air, or constant opening or shutting of a door. As Matthew Bramble, in "Humphrey Clinker," talks, in his delights of the country, of eating trout struggling from the stream, I would have my dishes served glowing, or steaming, from the kitchen-stoves—a luxury not to be compensated, and a quality which gives a relish, otherwise unattainable, to the simplest as well as the most highly-finished dishes. Let those who have sense and taste conceive a compact dinner, quietly served in simple succession according to such an arrangement, with everything at hand, and in the best possible state, and compare it with a three-course repast, imported under cover, in tedious procession, from under ground.

I shall next treat of the table, the dinner, and the mode of conducting it.

To those who are the slaves of custom or fashion, or who have never thought for themselves, the doctrines on the art of dining which I have just laid down must appear startling, absurd, or impossible to be carried into practice, except in a very limited number of cases. The simple style I propose is as different from the ornamented and cumbrous one now in vogue, as the present cropped, unpowdered, trousered mode of dress is from that of a gentleman's in the middle of the last century, when bags, swords, buckles, and gold lace were universally in use, and I might be thought as much out of the way in my notions by

some, as any one would have been in the year 1750, who should have advocated the dress of 1835. But simplicity and convenience have triumphed in our dress, and I have no doubt they will equally do so in time in our dinners.

With respect to the practicability of my system I lay down rules which I think the sound ones, with a view to their being approached as nearly as circumstances will permit. For instance, I am of opinion a party, to be the most satisfactory, should not exceed eight persons, and therefore I would keep as near that number as possible. I think it is a very material point to have a dinner served up quite hot, and therefore I would have a kitchen as close to the dining-room as conveniently it could be. I differ from those who like large parties, and who think the kitchen ought to be remote, and I frame my rules accordingly, and would bring my practice as near my rules as circumstances would allow. I should prefer two small parties simply regaled to one large one with an overloaded repast, and I would make all my arrangements with reference to the style I think best, and keep to it as strictly as I could.

As it appears to me that the more intent we are upon what we are doing the greater is our enjoyment, I have already dwelt upon the means of preventing distraction at the dinner-table—not that I mean all that I have said always to be adhered to, but I give it by way of guide and specimen. I endeavour to exhibit the true philosophy of dining, leaving the practice to be modified according to tastes and circumstances; and as I am decidedly of opinion that the true philosophy of dining would have great influence upon our well-being, bodily and mental, and upon the good ordering of our social habits, I think it well worth serious attention. The above observations apply as well to what I am going to say as to what I have said; the application of my rules must depend upon circumstances.

But I must not forget my promise to treat of the table, the dinner, and the mode of conducting it. A great deal of the pleasure of a party depends upon the size of the table being proportioned to the number of those sitting at it. The other day, when dining alone with a friend of mine, I could not help being constantly sensible of the unsocial influence of too large a table. The circular form seems to me to be the most desirable, and as tables are now made with tops of different sizes to put on as occasion requires, those who think it worth while can adapt their table to their party with what precision they please. According to my system of serving the dishes in succession, the only thing to be considered in the size of the table is convenient room for sitting, so as neither to be crowded nor to be too far apart. For any number not exceeding four, I think a square or oblong table quite as

comfortable as a round one. With respect to setting out a table, everything should be brilliantly clean, and nothing should be placed upon it except what is wanted; and everything wanted, which can conveniently be upon the table, should be there, so as to dispense as much as possible with attendance, and thereby avoid the trouble of asking for things, and the frequent occurrence, even with the best arrangements, of having to wait.

I rather think the best mode of lighting a table has not yet been discovered. I think it desirable not to have the lights upon it, nor indeed anything which can interrupt the freest communication between the guests, upon which sociability greatly depends. The art of throwing the most agreeable light upon a table is well worth cultivating.

Instead of those inconvenient and useless centre-pieces which I have already denounced, I would have a basket of beautiful bread, white and brown, in the middle of the table, with a silver fork on each side, so that the guests could help themselves, which would be perfectly easy with a party not exceeding eight, which limit I understand in all I say.

I would have the wine placed upon the table in such manner as to be as much as possible within the reach of each person, and I hold stands for the decanters to be impediments, and coolers also, except, perhaps, in very hot weather. If the wine is served at a proper temperature, it will in general remain so as long as ought to be necessary; but it is often set upon the table before it is wanted, for show. As I am an enemy to a variety of wines, I think one wine-glass only most convenient at dinner, nor do I think in general that water-glasses for the wine-glasses are of much use.

I like to simplify as much as possible; and instead of the supernumeraries we now see I would have one or more sets of cruets upon the table, according to the size of the party, and containing those things which are continually wanted, and which it is desirable to have at hand. When they are to be asked for, they are not used half so much as when they are within reach.

Whatever dish is placed upon the table, it ought to be preceded by all its minor adjuncts, and accompanied by the proper vegetables quite hot, so that it may be enjoyed entirely and at once. How very seldom this is fully experienced, for want of previous attention, or from the custom of sacrificing comfort to state and form! I suppose I hardly need add, that I am an advocate for the use of dumb-waiters; and the smaller the party is the more they are desirable, because attendants are a restraint upon conversation and upon one's ease in general, in proportion to the limited number at table.

I will conclude this part of my subject with recommending, in the

arrangements of the dining-room, and the setting out of the table, Madame de Staël's description of Corinne's drawing-room, which, she says, was "simply furnished, and with everything contrived to make conversation easy and the circle compact," as nearly as possible the reverse of what is aimed at in English dinners of the present day.

With respect to the dinner itself, there are two kinds of dinners—one simple, consisting of few dishes, the other embracing a variety. Both kinds are good in their way, and both deserving attention; but for constancy I greatly prefer the simple style. As it is not my purpose to give a series of bills of fare, after the manner of the authors of books on cookery, I shall perhaps find it difficult to make my notions on dinners sufficiently comprehended. I mean only to lay down a few general rules, and leave the application to the genius of those who read them.

In the first place, it is necessary not to be afraid of not having enough, and so to go into the other extreme, and have a great deal too much, as is almost invariably the practice. It is also necessary not to be afraid of the table looking bare, and so to crowd it with dishes not wanted, or before they are wanted, whereby they become cold and sodden. "Enough is as good as a feast," is a sound maxim, as well in providing as in eating. The advantages of having only enough are these: it saves expense, trouble, and attendance; it removes temptation and induces contentment, and it affords the best chance of having a well-dressed dinner, by concentrating the attention of the cook. The having too much, and setting dishes on the table merely for appearance, are practices arising out of prejudices, which, if once broken through, would be looked upon, and deservedly, as the height of vulgarity. The excessive system is a great preventive of hospitality, by adding to the expense and trouble of entertaining, whilst it has no one advantage. It is only pursued by the majority of people for fear of being unlike the rest of the world.

In proportion to the smallness of dinner ought to be its excellence, both as to quality of materials and the cooking. In order to ensure the best quality of materials, it is necessary to have some intercourse with the tradesmen who provide them, that they may feel an interest in pointing out and furnishing whatever happens to be most desirable; and judicious criticisms on the cooking, whether in blaming or commending, are essential to keeping up a proper degree of zeal. There is a mean in these things between too much meddling and total negligence, and I think it is to be lamented on many accounts, that there is so much of the latter on the part of the higher classes towards those with whom they deal. Both parties would find their account in a mutual good understanding.

To order dinner well is a matter of invention and combination. It involves novelty, simplicity and taste; whereas, in the generality of dinners, there is no character but that of dull routine, according to the season. The same things are seen everywhere at the same periods; and as the rules for providing limit the range very much, there are a great many good things which never make their appearance at all, and a great many others which, being served in a fixed order, are seldom half enjoyed; as, for instance, game in the third course.

This reminds me of a dinner I ordered last Christmas-day for two persons besides myself, and which we enjoyed very much. It consisted of crimped cod, woodcocks, and plum-pudding, just as much of each as we wanted, and accompanied by champagne.

Now this dinner was both very agreeable and very wholesome from its moderation; but the ordinary course would have been to have preceded the woodcocks by some substantial dish, thereby taking away from their relish, and at the same time overloading the appetite. Delicacies are scarcely ever brought till they are quite superfluous, which is unsatisfactory, if they are not eaten, and pernicious if they are.*

When the materials and the cooking are both of the best, and the dinner is served according to the most approved rules of comfort, the plainest, cheapest food has attractions which are seldom to be found in the most laboured attempts. Herrings and hashed mutton to those who like them, are capable of affording as much enjoyment, when skilfully dressed, as rare and costly dishes. I think it would be a great improvement to introduce, as a mode of enjoying easy society, small parties to plain savoury dinners, without state or ceremony. They need not supersede more expensive repasts, but might be adopted as a variety and a relief. At present such a thing is scarcely heard of as asking half a dozen people to a dinner, unless it be an affair of trouble and expense. If people can dine alone in a plain manner, they could do so in society much more agreeably.

* [What would the author of "The Original" have thought of the dinner which was served to myself and two fellow-travellers at the little town of Boppart on the Rhine? It began with stewed apricots, was followed by a series of made dishes and game, and attained its climax in a knuckle of veal. We enjoyed the repast very much: but what part of the pleasure was due to the noiseless waiting of a matronly "female," what to the performance of a good band outside, and what to healthy appetites earned by pedestrian exercise, I will not attempt to determine. But, in the aggregate, the entertainment was such as to leave behind it very pleasant recollections; and I may say the same of a dinner on the banks of the Moselle, which began and ended somewhat in the same way, but that the musical entertainment was furnished after the dinner by mine host and a bevy of buxom daughters, singing to the guitar with much taste and feeling.]

Suppose a party of eight assembled in a room, and at a table arranged according to what I have said already more than once, to a dinner, either plain or costly, and, in the latter case, either of few dishes or of considerable variety; I would have every dish served in succession, with its proper accompaniments, and between each dish there should be a short interval, to be filled up with conversation and wine, so as to prolong the repast as much as possible, without inducing excess, and to give time to the digestive powers. By means of such intervals, time would be given to the cook, and to the attendants, so that nothing would have to wait for the guests, nor would the guests have to wait for anything, due preparation being made for each dish before its arrival, without bustle or omissions.

In dinners of few dishes they ought to be of rather a substantial kind; but, when composed of variety, the dishes should be of a lighter nature, and in the French style. It must be confessed that a French dinner, when well dressed, is extremely attractive, and, from the lightness felt after a great variety of dishes, it cannot be unwholesome; though I do not think, from my own experience and observation, that the French mode of cookery is so favourable to physical power as the English. If I might have my choice, I should adopt the simple English style for my regular diet, diversifying it occasionally with the more complicated French style.

Although I like, as a rule, to abstain from much variety at the same meal, I think it both wholesome and agreeable to vary the food on different days, both as to the materials and the mode of dressing them. The palate is better pleased, and the digestion more active, and the food, I believe, assimilates in a greater degree with the system. The productions of the different seasons and of different climates point out to us unerringly that it is proper to vary our food; and one good general rule I take to be, to select those things which are most in season, and to abandon them as soon as they begin to deteriorate in quality. Most people mistake the doctrine of variety in their mode of living. They have great variety at the same meals, and great sameness at different meals.

Let me here mention, what I forgot before, that after the dinner on Christmas-day, we drank mulled claret—an excellent thing, and very suitable to the season.

These agreeable varieties are never met with, or even thought of, in the formal routine of society, though they contribute much, when appropriately devised, to the enjoyment of a party, and they admit scope for invention.

I think, in general there is far too little attention paid to varying the mode of dining according to the temperature of the seasons.

Summer dinners are for the most part as heavy and as hot as those in winter, and the consequence is, they are frequently very oppressive, both in themselves, and from their effect on the room. In hot weather they ought to be light, and of a cooling nature, and accompanied with agreeable beverages well iced, rather than with pure wine, especially of the stronger kinds. I cannot think there is any danger from such diet to those who use it moderately. The danger, I apprehend, lies in excess from the pleasure felt in allaying thirst and heat.

The season in which nature produces fruit and vegetables in the greatest perfection and abundance, is surely that in which they ought to be most used. During the summer that cholera was the most prevalent, I sometimes dined upon pickled salmon, salad, and cider, and nothing else; and I always found they agreed with me perfectly, besides being very agreeable.* Probably, if I had taken them in addition to more substantial food, so as to overload my appetite, it might have been otherwise, and yet that course would have been adopted by many people by way of precaution.

In hot weather the chief thing to be aimed at is, to produce a light and cool feeling, both by the management of the room, and the nature of the repast. In winter, warmth and substantial diet afford the most satisfaction. In damp weather, when the digestion is the weakest, the diet ought to be most moderate in quantity, but rather of a warm and stimulating nature; and, in bracing weather, I think plain substantial food the most appropriate. By studying to suit the repast to the temperature, the greatest satisfaction may be given at the cheapest rate. Iced water is often more coveted than the richest wine.

One of the greatest luxuries, to my mind, in dining, is to be able to command plenty of good vegetables, well served up. But this is a luxury vainly hoped for at set parties. The vegetables are made to figure in a very secondary way, except, indeed, whilst they are considered as great delicacies, which is generally before they are at their best, and then, like other delicacies, they are introduced after the appetite has been satisfied: and the manner of handing vegetables round is most unsatisfactory and uncertain. Excellent potatoes, smoking hot, and accompanied by melted butter of the first quality, would alone stamp merit on any dinner; but they are as rare on state occasions, so served, as if they were of the cost of pearls. Everybody of genuine taste is delighted with a display of vegetables of a superior

* [The author's experience may be accepted to the extent of adding one more to the many facts which tend to abate the prejudice against fruit and vegetables, even when ripe and fresh, as articles of diet in seasons of cholera.]

order; and if great attention was bestowed upon that part of dinners, instead of upon the many other dishes, dinners would be at once more wholesome and more satisfactory to the palate, and often less expensive. I have observed, that whenever the vegetables are distinguished for their excellence, the dinner is always particularly enjoyed; and if they were served, as I have already recommended, with each dish, as they are most appropriate and fresh from the dressing, it would be a great improvement on the present style. With some meats something of the kind is practised, as peas with duck, and beans with bacon, and such combinations are generally favourites; but the system might be much extended, and with great advantage, by due attention.

With respect to variety of vegetables, I think the same rule applies as to other dishes. I would not have many sorts on the same occasion, but would study appropriateness and particular excellence. There is something very refreshing in the mere look of fine vegetables, and the entrance of a well-dressed dish of meat, properly accompanied by them and all their adjuncts, would excite a disposition to enjoyment much greater than can the unmeaning and unconnected courses now placed before our eyes. This is a matter of study and combination, and a field for genius. It is a reasonable object of attention, inasmuch as it is conducive to real enjoyment, and has nothing to do with mere display. In French cookery, vegetables meet with attention much more proportionate to their importance than in ours, and appropriateness in serving them is much more studied.

I think I have now said all I had to say respecting dinners. My object has been to point out what I consider to be the true philosophy, and to put people upon the right scent of what ought to be done, rather than to particularize it. Those who wish to succeed, can only do so to much extent, by first getting into the right course, and then thinking for themselves, with such aids as they can derive from observation, and the best treatises on cookery. The chief point to be aimed at, is to acquire a habit of thinking only of the real object of dining, and to discard all wish for state and display in a matter of daily recurrence, and on which health and pleasure so largely depend.

I consider my observations on the art of dining as part of what I had to say on attainment of high health, from the necessary dependence of our health upon the judicious and satisfactory manner in which we make our principal meal. I think the art of dining, properly understood, is especially worthy the attention of females of all classes, according to their respective means. It comes peculiarly within the province of domestic economy, and is indeed one of its most important features. But females ought to be especially on their

guard in this essential affair, not to divert their views from realities to show, to which they have a strong propensity. There are many things in which they can indulge their taste for ornament, provided it is not carried too far, with advantage to themselves and to the satisfaction of others; but in the article of dinners it is misplaced, because destructive of something of much more importance; and the realities, when in full force, have quite sufficient attractions without any attempt to heighten them by "foreign aid."

In conformity with my dislike to show or display in everything connected with dinner, I prefer a service of plain white ware—the French manufacture, I believe, or an imitation of it—to plate or ornamented china. There is a simplicity in white ware, and an appearance of cleanliness and purity, which are to me particularly pleasing; besides which, it is, I always think, indicative of a proper feeling, and a due attention in the right direction.

As to desserts, I am no great friend to them. I enjoy fruit much more at any other time of the day, and at any other meal; besides which, I think they are unwholesome from being unnecessary. At any rate, I would have them in great moderation, and confined to a few kinds of ripe fruit. Preserved fruits are in my opinion cloying after dinner, and I believe injurious to the digestion of a substantial meal, and confectionery I think still worse. Desserts are made instruments of show as much or more than dinners, and though, unlike dinners, they cannot well be spoiled by it, yet it makes them a perpetual source of temptation to excess. It is most unphilosophical to set things before people, and to tell them they need not take them unless they please. Contentment and safety mainly depend upon having nothing before us except what we ought to take.

I am now approaching a conclusion on the subject of the art of dining. My remaining topics are, wine, the means of limiting dinners to small parties, and the effect of such limit upon the mode of carrying on society in the most convenient and agreeable manner. It seems to me, that great improvements are practicable, at least with those who prefer real enjoyment to mock, and who like ease and liberty better than state and restraint.

Before I proceed to these topics, I wish just to add one observation to what I have already said on the introduction of delicacies at dinner. I have there observed that "delicacies are scarcely ever brought till they are quite superfluous, which is unsatisfactory if they are not eaten, and pernicious if they are." Frequently when I have expressed my sentiments on this subject in conversation, the objection made has been, that it would be difficult, or too expensive, if delicacies were introduced in the early part of dinner, to provide enough. The

answer is, that it is not necessary to have a sufficient supply for each guest to make a dinner upon, but enough to afford each a reasonable portion before the appetite is palled. For instance, at a party of six persons, if the dinner consisted of soup, fish, a joint, and three woodcocks, I maintain it would be much better to serve the woodcocks before the joint, both on the score of enjoyment and of health—of enjoyment, because a delicacy, when the appetite is nearly satisfied, loses a great part of its relish, and is reduced to the level of plainer food whilst the appetite is keen—of health, because it is much more easy to regulate the appetite when the least tempting dishes are brought last. By serving delicacies first, people would dine both more satisfactorily and more moderately, and entertainments would be less costly and less troublesome. I have often seen a course of game taken away, nearly or quite untouched, which would almost have dined the party, and much more agreeably than on the preceding dishes.

The truth is, and a melancholy one too, that set dinners are managed more with a view to the pageant than the repast, and almost in every particular, besides that of delicacies, there is a sacrifice of enjoyment to an unmeaning and vulgar-minded style. Let us hope that some daring and refined spirits will emancipate us from such barbarous thraldom, and that we may see a rivalry of inventive genius instead of the present one of cumbrous pomp. Simplicity, ease, and sound sense are making progress in many things relating to our way of living; and surely they will not be excluded from one of the most important of our temporal concerns.

A matter suggests itself to me here, which it is expedient not to pass over; I mean the practice of persons in different stations of life, or enjoying different degrees of affluence, in their intercourse with each other, all adopting, as far as they are able, the same style of entertainment. The formal, stately style is certainly not that of the greatest enjoyment, but it is tolerable only when it is adequately kept up, and with a disciplined establishment. Those who maintain large establishments feel a necessity to find them employment to prevent greater inconveniences, but for those who have only a moderate household to go out of their way for the purpose of badly imitating what is rather to be avoided altogether, is the height of folly. I do not know anything more unsatisfactory than a state occasion, where the usual mode of living is free from all state. It excites my pity, and wearies me; and I cannot be at my ease whilst I am conscious that the entertainers are giving themselves trouble, and suffering anxiety to a greater degree than it is probable they can be recompensed, and are perhaps incurring expense which is inconvenient, and for which some

comfort is to be sacrificed. In whatever style people live, provided it is good in its kind, they will always have attractions to offer by means of a little extra exertion well directed within their own bounds, but when they pass those bounds, they forego the advantages of variety and ease. It is almost always practicable to provide something out of the common way, or something better than common; and people in different situations are the most likely to be able to produce an agreeable variety. The rule generally followed is to think what the guests are accustomed to, whereas it should be reversed, and what they are not accustomed to should rather be set before them, especially where the situation of the entertainer, or his place of residence, affords anything peculiar. By adopting such a course, persons of moderate income may entertain their superiors in wealth without inconvenience to themselves, and very much to the satisfaction of their guests—much better than by laboured imitations of their own style. Contrast should be aimed at, and men used to state and luxury are most likely to be pleased with comfort and simplicity. We all laugh at the idea of a Frenchman in his own country thinking it necessary to treat an Englishman with roast beef; but it is the same principle to think it necessary to entertain as we have been entertained, under different circumstances. There are people in remote parts of the country, who, having the best trout at hand, and for nothing, send for turbot at a great expense to entertain their London guests; and instances of the like want of judgment are innumerable. In general it is best to give strangers the best of the place; they are then the most sure to be pleased.

In entertaining those who are in a different class from ourselves, it is expedient to provide for them what they are not used to, and that which we are most in the way of procuring of superior quality. Many people, from their connexion with foreign countries, or with different parts of their own, are enabled to command with ease to themselves what are interesting rarities to others, and one sure way to entertain with effect is, as I have before recommended, to cultivate a good understanding with those with whom we deal for the supply of the table.

By way of illustration of what I have said, on the subject of plain choice dinners, I give an account of one I once gave in the chambers of a friend of mine in the Temple, to a party of six, all of whom were accustomed to good living, and one of whom was bred at one of the most celebrated tables in London. The dinner consisted of the following dishes, served in succession, and with their respective adjuncts carefully attended to. First, spring soup from Birch's on Cornhill, which, to those who have never tasted it, I particularly recommend in

the season as being quite delicious; then a moderate-sized turbot, bought in the city, beautifully boiled, with first-rate lobster sauce, cucumber, and new potatoes; after that, ribs of beef from Leadenhall-market, roasted to a turn, and smoking from the spit, with French beans and salad; then a very fine dressed crab; and lastly, some jelly. The owner of the chambers was connected with the city, and he undertook specially to order the different articles, which it would have been impossible to exceed in quality; and though the fish and beef were dressed by a Temple laundress, they could not have been better served, I suppose principally from the kitchen being close at hand, and her attention not being distracted; and here I must remark that the proximity of the kitchen was not the least annoyance to us in any way, or indeed perceptible, except in the excellence of the serving up. The beef deservedly met with the highest praise, and certainly I never saw even venison more enjoyed. The crab was considered particularly well introduced, and was eaten with peculiar zest, and the simplicity of the jelly met with approval. The dessert, I think, consisted only of oranges and biscuits, followed by occasional introductions of anchovy toast. The wines were champagne, port, and claret. I have had much experience in the dinner way, both at large and at small parties, but I never saw such a vividness of conviviality, either at or after dinner, which I attribute principally to the real object of a dinner being the only one studied; state, ornament, and superfluity being utterly excluded.

I hold this up as an example of the plain, easy style of entertaining. There was nothing which anybody may not have with the most moderate establishment and the smallest house, perhaps not always in exactly the same perfection as to quality of materials, but still sufficiently good, with a little trouble and judgment.

It is the mode of dinner that I wish to recommend, and not any particular dishes or wines. Common soup made at home, fish of little cost, any joint, the cheapest vegetables, some happy and inexpensive introduction, like the crab, and a pudding, with sherry and port, provided everything is good in quality, and the dishes are well dressed, and served hot and in succession, with their adjuncts, will ensure a quantity of enjoyment which no one need be afraid to offer, and so it will be with any combination in the same style; but then it is absolutely necessary not to overdo the thing on the one hand, and, on the other, to direct the attention entirely in the right course; to think nothing of display or fashion, but only of realities, and to dispose everything for comfort and ease. Such dinners admit of an endless variety of combination, and by more or less additional expense, often very trifling, may be made greatly sought after.

There is one precaution, which I would recommend to those who step out of the common way in entertaining, and that is, to make some mention of what they mean to do at the time they give their invitation, otherwise a sort of disappointment may be sometimes felt, which is destructive of that disposition to be pleased, which guests ought to feel. For instance, speaking from my own experience, I greatly prefer small parties to large ones, and simple dinners to overloaded ones; but it has happened to me, that if, from the style of the invitation, I have made up my mind to a state party, I have been disappointed at finding a small one, though I should have preferred it in the first instance, and so it might be to invite any one to a simple dinner, however excellent, without giving some notice.

There is often a little art in giving an invitation, not only so as to prevent disappointment, but to prepare the invited for any particular circumstance, in order that they may come with the proper disposition, created by anticipation. I recollect at the dinner I have above described, I stated, in my invitations, verbal and written, what I meant to attempt, and the names of the party. As the success of it so strongly illustrates my positions in favour of compactness of dining-room, of proximity of kitchen, of smallness of party, of absence of state and show, of undivided attention to excellence of dishes, and to mode of serving them in single succession, I am tempted to add the names here by way of authentication, and to show that my guests were competent judges, not to be led away from want of experience. The party consisted of Lord Abinger, then Sir James Scarlett, Sir John Johnstone, the present member for Scarborough, Mr. Young, private secretary to Lord Melbourne, Mr. R. Bell, of the firm of Bell Brothers, who occupied the chambers, and acted as caterer, and lastly, my excellent friend, the late honourable George Lamb, whose good-humoured convivial qualities were held in high estimation by all who knew him, and who on this occasion outshone himself. I had seen him on many and many a festive and joyous occasion, both amidst the revelries of the northern circuit and in private society, but I never saw him, or any other man, in such height of glee.

Such a scene could not take place at a table set out, however well, in the customary style. There could not be the same ease and inspiration, the same satisfaction, and concentration of mind on what is to be done, the same sympathetic bringing together of a party over one thing at once. What is there in state and show to compensate for this enjoyment? They are the resources by which dulness seeks to distinguish itself, and it is a pity that those who are capable of better things should submit to such trammels. In proportion as the set-out is brilliant, I have observed the company is generally dull, and every

ornament seems to me an impediment in the way of good fellowship.

I must add a word or two to what I have said respecting the mode of giving invitations, upon which, I think, more depends than at first sight appears. If a formal invitation on a large card, requesting the honour, &c., at three weeks' notice, were to be received, and the party should prove to be a small familiar one to a simple dinner, however good, some disappointment would almost unavoidably be felt, partly because the mind would have been made up to something different, and partly on account of the more laboured preparation. It is in general, I think, advisable to give some idea to the invited what it is they are to expect, if there is to be anything out of the common way, either as to company or repast; at any rate, it is expedient not to mislead, as some people are very much in the habit of doing, and then receiving their company with an apology, which throws a damp over the affair in the very outset.

Now, instead of a formal invitation, let us suppose one to such a dinner as the undermentioned, couched in these words:—"Can you dine with me to-morrow?—I shall have herrings, hashed mutton, and cranberry tart. My fishmonger sends me word herrings are just in perfection, and I have some delicious mutton, in hashing which I shall direct my cook to exercise all her art. I intend the party not to exceed six, and observe, we shall sit down to table at half-past seven. I am asking as follows."

Now I should greatly prefer such an invitation to a formal one in general terms, and I suppose most other people would do the same. It would show an intentness and right understanding on the matter in hand, from which the happiest results might be expected, and the guests would go filled with the most favourable predispositions, which is starting at an advantage; for at parties in general, it requires some time before they can be raised to anything like the proper tone of fellowship. Such a style puts dinner-giving within almost everybody's reach, and would induce a constant flow of easy hospitality, instead of a system of formal parties, "few and far between."

The same mode is equally desirable in invitations to simple dinners of the most costly or rarest dishes, and in some respects more so, as the anticipations would be more vivid. I have heard it frequently objected to the simple style, that some of the guests, when there is little or no choice, may not be able to make a dinner; but this objection is entirely obviated by particularizing, as above, what the dinner is to consist of, and those whom it does not please, can then decline the invitation. A simple dinner, well served, to a party of a similarity of taste, cannot fail to have peculiar success; it makes perfect the union. These snug

little parties, I must confess, have very much the air of being confined to bachelor ones, but I think them equally applicable to a mixture of the sexes. Ladies are very apt to suppose that men enjoy themselves the most when they are not present. They are in a great measure right, but for a wrong reason. It is not that men prefer their own to a mixture of female society, but that females delight in a number of observances, and in forms, upon some of which I have already touched, and upon a certain display and undeviating order, which conspire to destroy that enjoyment which they seem to think they are debarred from. The fault is their own. If they will study my doctrines, and fall a little into the herring-and-hashed-mutton system, they will soon find a difference in their favour. In their management of dinners, let them think only of what contributes to real enjoyment. Such a system will afford them plenty of scope for the display of their taste in realities, instead of in vanities, which have no charms for men in the article of conviviality. If they wish to witness anything like the enjoyment I have described to have taken place at my dinner in the Temple, they must adopt something of the same course to ensure it. Side-dishes, centre-pieces filled with flowers, and such encumbrances and impediments, are fatal to it. They may make their election, but they cannot have both.

I rather believe they think their system necessary to keep up a proper degree of respect to themselves, and that without it men would become too careless and uncivilized; but this I apprehend to be a mistake. There may be well-regulated ease without running into disorder and brutality, and whatever facilitates the social intercourse between the sexes, will of course increase refinement on the part of the men. I think it would be a vast improvement in society if the practice of familiar dining were introduced—parties not exceeding eight, without the trouble of dressing beyond being neat and clean, with simple repasts, costly or otherwise, according to the means or inclinations of the givers, and calculated to please the palate, and to promote sociability and health.

As the season for fires is approaching, or rather, from the wet weather, is arrived, I must make an observation or two upon that important head.

A cheerful fire is our household sun, which I, for one, like to have ever shining upon me, especially in the coming months of November and December, when the contrast between that and the external fogs and mud is most striking and agreeable. A good fire is the next best substitute for a summer sun, and, as our summer sun is none of the brightest, we are wise to make the most of its successor.

An Englishman's fireside has, time out of mind, been proverbial;

and it shows something of a degenerate spirit not to keep up its glories. There is an unfortunate race, who labour under a constant pyrophobia, or dread of fire, and who cannot bear the sight of it, or even the feel, except from a distance, or through a screen. When we have to do with such, we must compromise as well as we can between comfort and consideration; but I am speaking to the real enjoyers of the goods of life, without any morbid infirmity about them.

A bright, lively fire I reckon a most excellent dinner companion, and in proper fire weather I would always have it, if I may so say, one of the party. For instance, two or three at each side of the table, one at the top, and the fire at the bottom, with the lights on the mantelpiece;* but then, to have this disposition in perfection, the dining-room should be something after the plan I have recommended at page 54. Under such circumstances, I think that if Melancholy herself were one of the guests, she could not but forget her state. A fire is an auxiliary at dinner, which diffuses its genial influence, without causing distraction. As Shakspeare says of beauty, "it is the sun that maketh all things shine;" and as Dryden sings after Horace,

> "With well-heap'd logs dissolve the cold,
> And feed the genial hearth with fires;
> Produce the wine that makes us bold,
> And sprightly wit and love inspires."

It may be supposed, from the way in which the fire is ordinarily treated during dinner, that it was a disagreeable object, or a common enemy. One or more persons are made to turn their backs upon it, and in that position screens are obliged to be added to prevent fainting. This is a perverse mode of proceeding, arising partly from the ill adaptation of dining-rooms to their use, partly from the custom of crowding tables, and partly from the risk of oppressiveness, where there are large numbers and overloaded dinners, so that in this, as in most instances, one abuse engenders another, and the expediency of adhering to a rational system is clearly manifested.

* [The "Art of Dining" contains no better suggestion than this, to the excellence of which I can bear my testimony from recent experience. I made a short visit to the country last January. All was cold and damp outside the house; but the "household sun" that shone on our dinner-table in the shape of logs of blazing wood piled with liberal hand, made ample compensation for every outside discomfort. Whether the party was odd or even, four or five, the fire was always our "dinner companion." When there were four, two took their places opposite the fire, and one on each side the table. With the number five the host held his place of honour facing the fire, with two guests on either side. What with a first-rate cook, whom the author would I suppose designate a "female," excellent wine, a genial host, pleasant chat, and a fire blazing in sight of us all, Paulus Æmilius would have commended our strategy, and Lucullus himself might have envied our enjoyment.]

We are the creatures of habit, and too seldom think of changing according to circumstances; it was but the other day I dined where the top of the table was unoccupied: but though the weather was cold and wet, the master of the house maintained his position at the bottom with his back to the fire, protected by a screen. If I could have wheeled him round, "the winter of my discontent" would have been made "glorious summer," and I should have dined with complete satisfaction.

The conservancy of fires ought principally to fall within the superintendence of the female part of a family, because they are least seldom out of the way, and it is a subject of very great importance in the maintenance of domestic comfort, especially where the males, either from pleasure or business, are exposed to the vicissitudes of weather. Let any one call to mind the difference between two houses where good and bad fires are kept. To the labouring classes a good fire at meals is the greatest source of health and enjoyment; and at public-houses a cheerful blaze seen through the windows, is a bait well understood to catch the labourer returning from his work to a comfortless home. If he once gets

> "planted unco right,
> Fast by an ingle, bleezing finely,"

there is no chance of his quitting, till, like Tam O'Shanter, he is compelled by necessity.

The essential quality of a fire is to be bright without being too hot, and the best and quickest mode of restoring a neglected fire is to stir out the ashes, and with the tongs to fill up the spaces between the bars with cinders. If carefully done, it is surprising how soon this process will produce an effective and glowing fire.

Whilst I was writing the above, a friend of mine called to propose that we should dine together at the Athenæum, and he would send a brace of grouse he had just received. We dined very satisfactorily, but agreed that a perfect edition of our dinner would have been as follows:—First, a dozen and a half of small oysters, not pampered, but fresh from their native bed, eaten simply, after the French fashion, with lemon-juice, to give an edge to the appetite. In about twenty minutes, the time necessary for dressing them, three fine flounders water-zoutchied, with brown bread-and-butter—a dish which is better served at the Athenæum than anywhere I know. At a short interval after the flounders, the grouse, not sent up together, but one after the other, hot and hot, like mutton chops, each accompanied by a plate of French beans. With the flounders half-a-pint of sherry, and with the grouse a bottle of genuine claret, which we get for three-and-sixpence

a bottle; after which, a cup each of strong hot coffee. This is a style of dining, which made us think of the gorgeous, encumbered style with pity and contempt, and I give these particulars by way of study, and as a step towards emancipation.

After my desultory manner I must here mention an instance of barbaric ornament I witnessed a short time since at a dinner which, substantially, was excellent. I had to carve a tongue, and found my operations somewhat impeded by a couple of ranunculuses stuck into it, sculptured, one in turnips, and the other in carrot. It was surrounded by a thin layer of spinach, studded with small stars, also cut in carrot. What have ranunculuses and stars to do with tongue and spinach? To my mind, if they had been on separate and neighbouring dishes, and unadorned, it would have been much more to the purpose.

At length I am come to the consideration of that important accompaniment to dinner—wine, in the management of which there is ordinarily a lamentable want of judgment, or rather a total absence of it. Besides an actual want of judgment, there is frequently a parsimonious calculation on the one hand, or an ostentatious profusion and mixture on the other, both destructive, in their different ways, of true enjoyment.

The art in using wine is to produce the greatest possible quantity of present gladness, without any future depression. To this end, a certain degree of simplicity is essential, with due attention to seasons and kinds of food, and particularly to the rate of filling the glass. Too many sorts of wine confuse the palate and derange digestion. The stronger wines, unless very sparingly used, are apt to heat in hot weather, and the smaller kinds are unsatisfactory when it is cold.

The rate at which to take wine is a matter of great nicety and importance and depends upon different circumstances at different times. Care and observation can alone enable any one to succeed in this point. The same quantity of wine, drank judiciously or injudiciously, will produce the best or the worst effects. Drinking too quick is much more to be avoided than drinking too slow. The former is positively, the latter negatively evil. Drinking too quick confuses both the stomach and the brain; drinking too slow disappoints them. After long fasting, begin slowly and after a solid foundation, and quicken by degrees. After exhaustion from other causes than fasting, reverse this order. Small wines may be drunk with less caution as to rate than the fuller bodied. As soon as the spirits are a little raised, slacken the pace, contrary to the usual practice, which is to quicken it. When the proper point of elevation is attained, so use the glass as just to keep there, whereby enjoyment

is prolonged without alloy. The moment the palate begins to pall, leave off. Continuation after that will often produce a renewed desire, the gratification of which is pernicious. This state is rather an unfitness for leaving off than a fitness for going on.

In respect to simplicity, I think four kinds of wine the very utmost ever to be taken at one time, and with observance of what wines go well together; as sherry, champagne, port and claret; but they should be drunk in uniform order, and not first one and then another, and then back again, which is a senseless and pernicious confusion.

For my own part, I rather like one kind of wine at a time, or at most two; and I think more is lost than gained by variety. I should lay down the same rules as to wines, as I have already done as to meats; that is, simplicity on the same day, and variety on different days. Port only, taken with or without a little water, at dinner, is excellent; and the same of claret. I think, on ordinary occasions, such a system is by far the most agreeable. Claret—I mean genuine, undoctored claret—which, in my opinion, is the true taste, is particularly good as a dinner wine, and is now to be had at a very reasonable price. I would not wish better than that given at the Athenæum at three-and-sixpence a bottle. Rhenish wines are very wholesome and agreeable, drunk simply without other wines: I do not think they harmonize well with champagne.

As to seasons, the distinction is obvious that light wines are the best in summer: but then care should be taken, for the sake of health, that they are sound; and with much fruit, perhaps, a little of stronger wine is advisable. In winter, generous wine is to be preferred, and it is a pleasant variety to have it occasionally spiced or mulled, especially in very dreary weather, or after severe exposure. In hot weather, beverages of various kinds, having wine for their foundation, and well iced, are very grateful. There is scarcely any luxury greater in summer than wine and water, cooled with a lump of ice put into it, though it is seldom practised in this country. In Italy, a plate of pure ice is regularly served during the hot season. In England, unfortunately, a great deal of money is wasted on excess, whilst simple luxuries are almost altogether neglected.

The adaptation of wines to different kinds of food is a matter not to be neglected. The general rule is, to drink white wine with white meats, and red with brown, to which may be added, that light wines are most suitable to light dishes, or to the French style, and the stronger to substantial dishes, or the English style; but this latter rule has many exceptions.

I must not here pass over altogether the excellencies of malt liquor, though it is rather difficult to unite the use of it judiciously with

that of wine. When taken together, it should be in great moderation, but I rather prefer a malt-liquor day exclusively now and then, by way of variety, or to take it at luncheon: There is something extremely grateful in the very best table-beer, and it is to be lamented it is so rarely to be met with in the perfection of which it is capable. That beverage at dinner, and two or three glasses of first-rate ale after, constitutes real luxury, and I believe are a most wholesome variety. Good porter needs no praise, and bottled porter iced, is, in hot weather, most refreshing.

Cider-cup, lemonade, and iced punch in summer, and hot in winter, are all worthy of their turns; but I do not think their turns come as often as they ought to do. We go on in the beaten track, without profiting by the varieties which are to be found on every side.

What I have hitherto said has been with a view principally to individual guidance in the use of wine, though much of it may be applied to the management of parties. In the management of parties, so far as relates to wine, judgment, liberality, attention and courage, are necessary; and calculation, inattention, ostentation, profusion, and excess, are the vices to be guarded against. I always take for granted, that whatever wine is produced, it is to be good of its kind. Judgment is necessary in knowing what wines are suitable to the season, the food, and the description of guests; in what order to serve them, at what rate to drink, and when to stop. Liberality is necessary to furnish promptly and cheerfully the requisite supply; attention is necessary to execute what the judgment suggests; and courage is necessary to keep the erring, either from ignorance or refractoriness, in the right path, and to stop at the right point.

The master of a feast should be master in deed as well as in name, and on his judicious and confident control depends for the most part real convivial enjoyment; but he should govern rather by imperceptible influence than by any outward demonstration, or appearance of interference. He should set the wine in circulation at the earliest fitting moment, for want of attention to which there is often a flagging at the outset. He should go on rather briskly at first, and should then contrive to regulate its pace according to the spirits of the party. He should cause the wines to be served in their proper order, and should preserve that order as much as in him lies, both by his own example, and by good-humoured recommendation. He should let his guests know what he intends, so that they may have an opportunity of regulating themselves accordingly; as, if he thinks proper to produce only a certain quantity of any particular wine, he should say so. Uncertainty is fatal to convivial ease, and the re-introduction of any kind of wine, after other wines have intervened, is specially to be

avoided. This error arises either from want of courage in allowing a violation of propriety, or from a calculation that there would be enough, when there turns out not to be enough, and then hesitating to supply the deficiency at the proper moment. He should be liberal as long as liberality is beneficial, and as soon as he perceives that the proper point to stop at is arrived, he should fearlessly act upon his perception. There is a liberal, hearty manner, which prevents suspicion, and enables the possessor to exercise his judgment not only without offence, but with approbation. Calculation, however studiously concealed, sheds a baneful influence over conviviality, which nothing can counteract. Inattention causes things either to go on wrong, or not to go on at all. Ostentation excites disgust or contempt, and destroys enjoyment for the sake of display, by introducing variety without reference to reason. Profusion produces the same effect from ignorance or mistaken liberality. There may be excess without variety, though it is not so probable. It is much more often the result of want of courage in the master of the feast, than of inclination on the part of the guests, and good government in the beginning is the surest guarantee of a temperate termination.

In what I have said, I have supposed the giver of an entertainment to have means at his command; but where it is not so, the plainest wines, provided they are sound, and are heartily and judiciously given according to the rules I have laid down, cannot fail to give satisfaction to the reasonable, and more satisfaction too than the most costly, with the many drawbacks which usually accompany them. They are for the most part exposed to the same fate that I have already described to await delicacies in food; that is, they are so mixed up and encumbered with other things as to be deprived of their relish, and reduced to the level of their inferiors, or even below.

It is to be wished that those who are not in the way of giving costly wines would never attempt it; because they are only putting themselves to inconvenience, and their guests to greater. It is a very serious tax upon one's palate and veracity to be obliged to drink and pronounce upon compounds with names to which they have not the most remote pretension.

What I have said heretofore about dinners applies equally to wines. Let people keep to their own proper style, and endeavour to excel in what is within their ordinary reach. A little extra attention and a little extra expense are then productive of satisfactory results, and they are sure to please others without any sacrifice of what is due to themselves.

I have yet to make some particular observations on the use of champagne.

Of whatever materials composed, I never knew a party that could be said to go off ill where there was a judiciously liberal supply of good champagne. I say judiciously liberal, because there may be too much as well as too little, though the error, comparatively speaking, is seldom on the side of excess; but I have seen, when a party has been raised to what I call the champagne point of conviviality, that an extra quantity has caused a retrograde movement, by clogging the digestive powers. In this, as in all other matters relating to the table, but here especially, much must depend upon the eye, the judgment, and the resolution of the master. He must have liberality to give, attention and skill to regulate, and courage to stop.

There are two classes of dinner-givers, to whom I do not address myself on this subject, because I know it would be in vain. The first is that class who began their career and had their habits formed during the war, when champagne was double the price it is now. They gave it then like drops of blood, and I have never yet seen an instance of liberalization. The second class is that who merely give it as a part of their state, and deal it out to the state prisoners round their table only to tantalize them. I have no hope, then, of producing any effect except upon those who date their assumption of table government on this side the battle of Waterloo, and who have, or are capable of acquiring, the same contempt of show that I myself have.

To give champagne fair play it ought to be produced at the very beginning of dinner, or at any rate after one glass of sherry or madeira. Any other wines rather unfit the palate for it. The usual mode is, as with other delicacies, to produce it after the appetite is somewhat palled, and I have often thought it particularly ungallant and ungracious, where there are ladies, to keep it back till a late period of dinner, and such a practice often presents an absurd contrast of calculation and display.

According to my doctrines, the champagne should be placed upon the table, so that all may take what they like, when they like, till the presiding genius pronounces in his own mind that there has been enough, which is not difficult to a practised eye. This supposes a supply at discretion up to the champagne point, which is very agreeable on particular occasions, or now and then without any particular occasion, but would not be convenient to most people, or even desirable, if convenient. I am far from objecting to a limited supply, even the most limited—that is, one glass round; but I do object to the period when it is usually served, and to the uncertainty with which it is served. Where it is handed round, and meant to be so only once, twice, or any greater fixed number of times, to which

limits there can be no objection, the rule I would lay down is, that it should be handed round after the first glass of sherry, and if more than once, without any other wine between, and that it should be contrived to notify beforehand what the supply will be. It might be thought rather awkward to make the communication. That, I think, would depend on custom and tact. I am sure I should have no hesitation in making it, and, at any rate, the awkward effects often arising from uncertainty would be much greater.

What can exceed the awkwardness of two persons who are going to take wine together beating about the bush to get each the other to propose champagne—a scene I have frequently witnessed between the best bred people? What can exceed the awkwardness of asking for it when there is no more, or of waiting till a fresh supply is brought, contrary to the original intention? All these awkwardnesses are the consequences of uncertainty, and are much at variance with the ease that is essential to conviviality. An annunciation that there is champagne without limit, or that it will be handed round once or twice, or oftener, saves these embarrassments. If it is placed upon the table, I would make a similar annunciation, as indeed I always do, that there is to be one bottle or two, or more, or at discretion. Then people know what they are about, and are at their ease, for want of which there is no compensation. By means of previous annunciation, even the entertainers of the old school, and the men of state, might make their calculation available to a satisfactory purpose.

The advantages of giving champagne with whatever limit, at the beginning of dinner, are these: that it has the greatest relish, that its exhilarating quality serves to start the guests, after which they seldom flag, and that it disposes people to take less of other wines after, which is a relative, and sometimes even an absolute, saving to the pocket of the host, and it is undoubtedly a saving to the constitutions of his guests.

With wines as with meats, serving the most delicate first, diminishes consumption,—a desirable effect in all respects. I know that a couple of glasses round of champagne at the beginning of dinner will cause a less consumption, and with better effect, than the same quantity, or more, at a later period; and where there are ladies, the portion they choose to take is most grateful to them upon this plan, and often the only wine they wish to accept. At the present price of champagne, if it is judiciously given, I believe it is on many occasions little or no additional expense, and its effect is always contributive of exhilaration. By promoting exhilaration it promotes digestion, and by diminishing the consumption of other and perhaps stronger wines is consequently favourable to health. No other wine produces an equal effect in in-

creasing the success of a party; and a judicious champagne-giver is sure to win the goodwill and respect even of those who can command it at pleasure, because a great deal depends upon the mode of dispensing it. If it is handed round often, it should not be handed round quick, at least after the second glass, but at such intervals as the host points out. If it is placed upon the table within every one's reach, his nicely regulating power is necessary to give it sufficient circulation, but to restrain excess.

As the only anxiety of many, who give parties regardless of expense, is that they should go off well, I must repeat that they cannot fail, if there is a liberal supply of good champagne, heartily given. Of course there will be various degrees of success depending upon various circumstances, but champagne can always turn the balance to the favourable side, and heartiness in giving will compensate for many defects in other particulars.

I must here add, that in little *fêtes champêtres* champagne has great efficacy, and is a specific against that want of spirit that not unfrequently occurs; also on any convivial occasion, where there is an absence of something desirable in the way of comfort or convenience, or where any disappointment has happened, champagne is the most powerful auxiliary in remedying the omission, and making it forgotten. In short, where champagne goes right, nothing can well go wrong. I think it quite a waste to produce it unless it is iced, or at least of the temperature of cold spring water, and in hot weather its coldness is one of its most effective qualities. The less it is mixed with other wines the better it agrees with any one, and the objectionable effects attributed to it are often in reality the result of too much combination with other liquids. Taken simply and in due quantity, I think there are few constitutions to which it would not be beneficial, and I have frequently seen invalids who I have thought would have been all the better for an alterative course of it.

With respect to the kind of champagne to be preferred, that depends, I think, upon the occasion. The kind I have been alluding to throughout this article is the sparkling. I know many people affect to hold it in utter contempt in comparison with the still; but I suspect not a few of them do so to show their grandeur and their learning, rather than from their real taste. Undoubtedly still champagne, generally speaking, is a higher class of wine, and in a more perfect state than the sparkling; but it is almost as difficult to compare the two, as it would be to compare champagne with port. Still champagne is suitable to a grave party, talking over matters of state. But the sparkling is much better adapted to give brilliancy and joyousness, and for that purpose I believe would be preferred by almost everybody. Its very appear-

ance is inspiring. In wines there is about the same difference between these two, that in poetry exists between "Paradise Lost" and "The Rape of the Lock."

When sparkling champagne is opened, the cork should not fly out as from a bottle of soda water; when it does, it marks that the wine is in too crude a state, and has not been sufficiently fermented. I think its good qualities are the most effective when it is somewhat more active than merely creaming; when it has a certain liveliness, combined with flavour and coldness, which makes it, according to my taste, delightfully grateful.

I believe I am now come to the end of the observations I had to make upon the use of champagne. I will here supply a slight omission in the proper place on the subject of desserts. I have stated that I am no great friend to them, but I must mention that the most eligible mode I ever saw of serving them was by grouping the fruit upon a low wooden plateau, which was placed in the middle of the table. It was the least trouble in setting on, it left the greatest space, and had the richest and most tasteful appearance. I doubt whether after dinner is a proper time to serve ice, that is, if dinners are arranged, as I have recommended in a former number, according to the season. I am rather inclined to think that ice would be better alone, and later in the evening. It certainly spoils the palate for a time for wine, and is principally grateful, before the dessert, in counteracting the heating and oppressive effects of overgrown repasts.

My next topic is the means of limiting dinners to small parties, and the effect of such limit on carrying on society in the most convenient and agreeable manner. The apparent impediments to small parties are large families and numerous acquaintance. I shall here assume that small parties are the most desirable, if attainable, and that the system I advocate of moderate repasts, whether simple as to the number of dishes, or varied, and totally free from state and ostentation, is the best. In such a system the trouble of cooking and serving would be much less than in the present mode of entertaining company, and the whole business less complicated and anxious, and, as far as acquaintance are concerned, one party might be divided into two without any increase of household care, but the reverse.

If it is considered necessary to have a numerous company on the same day, I should think it advisable to divide them into two or more tables; because, as it is impossible there should be an unity of party at a table above a certain size, there is the best chance of it by such divisions as may each secure an unity. By an unity I mean where there is general conversation only, instead of particular or partial. It is absurd to call that one party which is broken into many, but which

sits at one table. Sociability would be much promoted by at once forming it into divisions at different tables. I have heard of this being practised at ball-suppers with the greatest success, and I do not see why there should not be equal success at dinners. It is always to be borne in mind that setting out a dinner-table is a far less operose business, according to my doctrines, than according to prevailing custom, and that setting out and serving two tables for eight persons each, would not be so much trouble as it now is to set out and serve one table for sixteen; whereas, in the former case, there would be two agreeable parties, instead of one dull one in the latter.

The same principle applies most strongly where there is a large family. Division of tables on occasion of entertaining company would then in my opinion be particularly convenient and advantageous; and I should think that often dinners at different hours of the day, according to the avocations or inclinations of a large family, and their intimacies, would greatly promote its well-being. It might suit some to dine at one hour and some at another, and to entertain their particular friends in an easy way, with a reunion of the whole in the evening, when numbers may meet advantageously. A free, simple style of living would admit of this without difficulty. Suppose, for instance, one part of a large family dining at four o'clock, with or without any strangers, and another at seven, according to their previous arrangements, and all meeting in the drawing-room, or disposing of themselves according to their different pursuits.

One of the great advantages of a simple, stateless style of living is, that it admits of so much liberty in various ways, and allows of many enjoyments which the cumbrous style totally prevents. I think it would be the perfection of society if there were a constant current of small dinner-parties for the purpose of enjoyment only, and a general mixing up on easy terms in the evening, according to each person's circle of acquaintance. I have heard people say that they have tried to get evening society, according to the French manner of droppers-in, but that they have never been able to succeed. The truth is, that no individual, or small number of individuals, will ever make such a plan succeed for long together. It must be the general custom in order to have permanent and complete success. I have frequented houses in that way at times, but always found it more irksome than agreeable, simply from the uncertainty of finding the inmates at home, and the repeated disappointments of finding them out. These objections would vanish if the custom of receiving in an evening were general, because if one family was not at home, another would be, and a person in search of society would be sure to find it somewhere, instead of returning unsuccessful. It is an annoyance to prepare, and

make up one's mind, for society, and then not to meet with it. The temptation to remain at home is too strong to venture upon a speculation, where there are so many chances against success. But if any one had a number of acquaintances in the same quarter, who received in an evening, an inclination for society might always be gratified with sufficient certainty to induce the attempt. Some visible sign, indicating whether they received at any house on any given evening, or whether the number was full, would save trouble to visitors, and would ensure complete privacy, whenever desired, or society to the extent desired, and not beyond.

It would be a great improvement in the world, and a great advantage to the rich, if they would spend that portion of their means which they dedicate to social intercourse, in procuring real enjoyment for their visitants, rather than in that state and display for which no reasonable person cares, or which, it may be more truly said, every reasonable person dislikes and despises. If, for instance, a rich man were to give simply excellent dinners, and provide his guests with accommodation at places of public amusement, he would give them more satisfaction than by inviting them to the most sumptuous entertainments, and would most likely much increase his own enjoyment. Such a practice would tend greatly to improve public amusements, and would add to their interest by giving brilliancy to the scene.

There are many ways in which those who have a command of means have opportunities of rendering social intercourse with them peculiarly advantageous and interesting to persons of smaller fortunes; but as it is, in general, the richer the host the duller the entertainment, principally because expense is lavished in the wrong direction, without taste, or invention, or rational end.

In order to make a dinner go off well, a good deal often depends upon the giver's mode of receiving his company. In the first place, he should always be ready; he should receive cordially, so as to let his guests feel inspired by an air of welcome; and he should set them well off together by the introduction of suitable topics. It is usually seen that the host receives his guests almost as if they were strangers to him, and, after a word or two, leaves them to manage for themselves as well as they can, by wandering about, or turning over books, or some resource of that sort, if they happen not to be well known to some of the company; and even persons who are in the habit of meeting, often seem to be actuated by a feeling of mutual reserve, for want of being well started by the host. It frequently requires some time after the dinner has commenced, to take off the chill of the first assembling, and in respect to individuals, it sometimes never is taken off during the whole party.

During dinner it is expedient for the head of the feast to keep his eye upon everything around him, and not to occupy himself exclusively, as many do, with those immediately near, or, what is worse, to sink into fits of abstraction or anxiety. The alacrity and general attention of the host furnish the spring from which the guests usually take their tone, and where they are not well known to each other, it is good to address each frequently by name, and to mention subjects on which they have some common interest. There is also much tact required in calling into play diffident or reserved merit, and in preventing too much individual monopoly of conversation, however good. In order to have perfect success, the guests must be capable of being well mixed up together, and the host must be capable of mixing them, which unfortunately few hosts are; but many are much more capable than they appear to be, if they would turn their attention to the subject. These latter observations are more applicable to large parties than to small ones, but they do apply to both.

I have now come to the conclusion of what occurs to me on the subject of "Aristology, or the Art of Dining and giving dinners," which subject the reader will perceive I have treated in the most familiar, and perhaps in too careless a way. I have written off-hand, as matter suggested itself from the stores of experience. I have always advanced what I thought to be right, without the slightest fear of being sometimes wrong; and I have given myself no thought as to exposure to ridicule, or anything else. My object is in this, as in every other subject on which I touch, to set my readers to think in the right track, and to direct them in their way as well as I can. I repeat that I consider what I have said on the "Art of Dining," to be a part of my observations on the "Art of Health."

SUPPERS.

I do not know how I came to dismiss the subject of the art of dining without saying a few words in favour of that agreeable, but now neglected meal, supper. The two repasts used to hold divided empire, but dinners have in later years obtained all but an exclusive monopoly, to the decay, I am afraid, of wit, and brilliancy, and ease. Supper has been in all times the meal peculiarly consecrated to mental enjoyment, and it is not possible that any other meal should be so well adapted to that object. Dinner may be considered the meal of the body, and supper that of the mind. The first has for its proper object the maintenance or restoration of the corporeal powers; the second is intended in the hours of relaxation from the cares and business of the day, to light up and invigorate the mind. It comes after everything else is

over, and all distraction and interruption have ceased, as a pleasing prelude and preparation for the hour of rest, and has a tendency to fill the mind with agreeable images as the last impressions of the day. Compared with dinner, it is in its nature light, and free from state. Dinner is a business; supper an amusement. It is inexpensive, and free from trouble. The attempt to unite the two meals in one, in the manner now practised, is a miserable failure, unfavourable to health and to the play of the mind. Nothing places sociability on so good a footing, and so much within the reach of all, as the custom of supping.

There is an objection made to suppers, that they are unwholesome. Nothing, I think, can be more unfounded; indeed, I believe them, if properly used, to be most wholesome, and quite in accordance with the dictates of nature. Undoubtedly large suppers are unwholesome after large dinners; but not so, light suppers after moderate dinners. I think, if I were to choose, my ordinary course of living would be a simple well-conceived dinner, instead of the luncheon now in vogue; then tea, with that excellent adjunct scarcely ever enjoyed in these days, buttered toast, about the present dinner-hour, and a savoury little supper about half-past nine or ten o'clock, with a bowl of negus, or some other grateful diluted potation after. I am of opinion there is no system so favourable to vigorous and joyous health as the moderate indulgence of a moderate appetite about a couple of hours before retiring to rest, those hours filled up with the enjoyment of agreeable society. In the colder months I have great faith in finishing the day with a warm and nourishing potation. It is the best preparation for one's daily end, sleep, or, as Shakspeare calls it, "the death of each day's life;" and those, with whom it does not agree, may be sure it is not the drink's fault, but their own, in not having pursued the proper course previously. A good drink over a cheerful fire, with a cheerful friend or two, is a good finish, much better than the unsatisfactory ending of a modern dinner party.

Here I must mention that, in order to have good negus, it is necessary to use good wine, and not, as some people seem to think, any sort of stuff, in any condition. Port negus is delicious, if it is made thus. Pour boiling water upon a sufficient quantity of sugar; stir it well; then pour some excellent port, not what has been opened two or three days, into the water, the wine having been heated in a saucepan. Stir the wine and water well together as the wine is poured in, and add a little grated nutmeg. A slice of lemon put in with the sugar, and a little of the yellow rind scraped with it, make the negus perfect; but it is very good without, though then, properly speaking, it should be called wine and water.

Supper is an excellent time to enjoy game, and all meat of a delicate

nature, and many other little things, which are never introduced at dinners. I am far from wishing to explode dinners as a social meal, but I object to their enjoying a monopoly, and the adoption of the two meals on different occasions would furnish opportunities for an agreeable variety. One frequently hears people object to dining early, on the ground that they feel themselves disinclined to do anything after dinner; but this is a false mode of reasoning. After a late dinner there is a disinclination to action, especially if it is an overloaded repast; but the reason of this is, that the powers have become exhausted, which is a solid argument against late dining with reference to health and spirits. But a moderate dinner, in the middle of the day, when the digestive powers are the strongest, instead of unfitting for action, has the very contrary effect, and a person rises from table refreshed, and more actively inclined than before. No one, whose digestion is in good order, complains of the incapacitating effects of luncheon, which is in reality a dinner without its pleasures.

Luncheon may be said to be a joyless dinner, and dinner a cumbrous supper, and between the two, they utterly exclude that refreshing little meal, tea. We live in a strange state of perversion, from which many emancipate themselves as much as they can, when the eye of the world is not upon them; and if everybody dared to do as everybody would like, strange changes would soon appear. If the state prisons were thrown open, and the fetters of fashion cast off, what inward rejoicing there would be among rich and poor, male and female! What struggles, what pangs, what restraints would be avoided! What enjoyments, what pleasures would present themselves, and what elasticity would be given to the different bents of the human mind! If reason and virtue alone dictated the rules of life, how much more of real freedom would be enjoyed than under the present worn-out dynasty of fashion!

I have just expressed an inclination to the adoption, on ordinary occasions, of a simple substantial dinner in the middle of the day, then to tea about the present hour of dinner, and lastly, to a light supper about a couple of hours before retiring to rest; but I omitted to enlarge, as much as I think the subject deserves, upon the advantages of such a course to men who are engaged in active occupation away from their homes.

To fast from breakfast to a late dinner is unquestionably prejudicial to the great majority of constitutions, though habit may prevent present sensations of inconvenience. Luncheon is an unsatisfactory, unsettled meal as to society, and awkward as to the appetite, which being about that time in the most vigorous state, it is difficult and disappointing to restrain it, and inconvenient, with reference to dinner, to satisfy it. Now a simple dinner at or near the place of business, and in

the way of society made subservient to business, is free from these disadvantages. If a meal is taken when the appetite is at the most healthy point of keenness, and no more is eaten than nature just requires, business may be resumed pleasantly, and without deranging the digestive powers. Then, instead of hurrying over business, dread of interruption, and anxiety to reach home, there is a feeling of satisfaction, and a composure which ought always to be aimed at. He who keeps dinner waiting, or is afraid of doing so, is in a constant state of annoyance; and those about him live in almost daily uncertainty, productive of anything but real comfort. A man on his arrival at home hastens over his toilette, sits down to table hurried and exhausted, overloads his appetite, and soon feels heavy, or sinks to sleep, neither enjoying nor adding to the enjoyment of society, and destroying the invigorating soundness of his night's rest. But tea is a meal that can be prepared quickly, and at any time; it causes no anxiety or hurry: there is little danger of excess; and, instead of oppressing, it is the very best restorative of the strength and spirits. After tea, the most exhausted become lively and clear for the remainder of the evening; the supper hour is subject to no uncertainty, and an inclination to sleep is induced at the desirable period, and not before.

To those who return into the country, especially in the summer-time, this system, I apprehend, would be found to possess many advantages; and, in general, I think it would conduce much to improve domestic society. I do not hold it out as a fixed rule to supersede later dinners, which on many occasions are the most convenient meals for social intercourse, but as a practice which might be frequently, or even ordinarily, adopted with advantage. To those who have always been accustomed to look upon a good dinner as the conclusion of their day's labours, any other system appears very meagre and unsatisfactory; but habit would soon reconcile persons of sense to a change, provided it is a change in which there is really a balance of advantages. On the score of alacrity and vigour of body and mind, I have little doubt but that the system of early dinners and light suppers is much preferable to the system now in force; but then it must be pursued with due attention to the rules of temperance, otherwise the evils of excess would be greater than they are now. The advantages of the system, in respect to facility and clearness in mental application, I know from experience to be great. An early dinner prevents exhaustion, without producing oppression. Tea, as a substantial meal, is a most powerful and agreeable auxiliary to the labour of the mind, and supper the most grateful restorative, when the labour is over. On the whole, I think, for ordinary occasions, early dining is much more favourable to smoothness of life than late.

TWO GOOD DISHES.

As the season for fruit is at hand, I give a receipt for preparing it, which I think ought to be much more common than it is. From the failures I have seen, I suppose it requires some skill and attention; but, when well managed, it furnishes a dish tempting in appearance, very agreeable to the palate, and much more wholesome than fruit with pastry. It is excellent whether for luncheon or for supper, and it is very grateful, cold, in hot weather. This receipt is applicable to every kind of fruit that is made into tarts, and is particularly good with ripe peaches or apricots, and with greengage or magnum bonum plums.

Wash a sufficient quantity of rice; put a little water to it, and set it in the oven till the water is absorbed. Then put in a little milk, work it well with a spoon, set it in the oven again, and keep working it from time to time till it is sufficiently soft. A little cream worked in at the last is an improvement. Fill a tart dish nearly full of fruit, sweeten it, and lay on the rice unevenly by spoonfuls. Bake it till the rice has a light brown or fawn colour on the surface.

Another receipt also applicable to the season, and, in my opinion, of great merit, is the following:—

Put a few beets, a little onion, one lettuce, and a cucumber sliced into a stew-pan, with a little water, and a proper quantity of butter, and pepper, and salt. Set the pan in the oven, and when the vegetables have been stewed some time put a quantity of boiled peas and some meat into the pan, and let the whole stew till the meat is ready to serve up. Lay the vegetables on the dish round the meat. Mutton, lamb, and veal are excellent dressed in this manner; and it is a very good way of using up cold meat.

It is true, this dish is by no means suited to make its appearance in state exhibitions, but that, in my mind, is no objection. I like the familiar and satisfactory style both of cooking and of eating, with the dish actually before me on *mensâ firmâ*, the solid table—not a kickshaw poked from behind, and dancing in the air between me and my lady neighbour's most inconvenient sleeve, without time to think whether I like what is offered, or whether I want it or not. This is all exceedingly polite according to present notions; but I rather prefer something of the Miltonic mode,

> "Where Corydon and Thyrsis met,
> Are at their savoury dinner set
> Of herbs, and other country messes,
> Which the neat-handed Phillis dresses;

or Dryden's style, as paraphrased from Horace,

"Sometimes 'tis grateful to the rich to try
A short vicissitude, and fit of poverty.
A savoury dish, a homely treat,
Where all is plain, where all is neat,
Without the stately spacious room,
The Persian carpet, or the Tyrian loom,
Clear up the cloudy forelleads of the great."

It is a pity one never sees luxuries and simplicity go together, and that people cannot understand that woodcocks and champagne are just as simple as fried bacon, and small beer, or a haunch of venison as a leg of mutton; but with delicacies there is always so much alloy as to take away the true relish.

ROASTED APPLES.

Some foreigner said rather wittily that we have no ripe fruit in England but roasted apples. As the season for ripening after this fashion is not far off, I offer a greatly improved mode, which was brought from Paris, and which, when well managed, makes rather a rich dish of rather an insipid one. Select the largest apples; scoop out the core, without cutting quite through; fill the hollow with butter and fine soft sugar; let them roast in a slow oven, and serve them up with the syrup.

SALADS.

As I am on the subject of receipts, I will give another, which is also applicable to the season: a receipt for a salad, which I have seen at a few houses, but I think it deserves to be much more common.

Boil one or two large onions till soft and perfectly mild. When cold, mix the onion with celery and sliced beet-root, roasted in the oven, which has more flavour than when boiled. Dress this salad with oil, vinegar, salt, and pepper. The onion and beet-root are very good without celery. Roast beef, with this salad and potatoes browned in the dripping-pan, or in the oven, is a dish to delight the constitution of an Englishman in the winter months.

The best lettuce salads I know are dressed by my friend Dr. Forbes, of Argyle Street, who is a proficient in aristology.* His receipt is as follows:—

Take the finest lettuces you can get; strip off the leaves with the

* [Of Dr., afterwards Sir Charles, Forbes, I have very pleasant recollections. He was physician to the Surrey Dispensary in the days of my pupilage, having for colleagues Dr. Hamilton Roe and Dr. Whiting, with the latter of whom I resided as house-pupil. Sir Charles had served in the Peninsular War, and is honourably mentioned by Sir James McGrigor. The students were struck with the simplicity of his practice, and fully appreciated his gentlemanly bearing, but thought him a little vain of his aristocratic patients at the West End.

Sir Charles must not be mistaken for his contemporary Sir John Forbes, well

hand, using only those which are well blanched. Put them into the bowl whole, and, if wet, wipe each with a napkin. Put a sufficient quantity of salt and pepper into the salad-spoon, and mix them with a little tarragon vinegar. Throw the mixture over the lettuce, and add vinegar and oil in the proportion of rather more than two spoonfuls of oil to one of vinegar. Stir the salad very well. It is best when not prepared till it is wanted. But if that is not convenient it should be kept in a cold place, or the lettuce loses its crispness. It is only by experience that the proper quantities of the ingredients for dressing can be accurately measured; but there should be great liberality of oil, and the quantity of vinegar depends in a great degree upon its sourness. This mode of dressing applies equally to my first receipt, with the exception, I think, of the tarragon.

Now that I am on the subject of salads, I must not forget to protest against the vulgar practice of chopping lettuce small, more like food for turkeys than human beings. One of the best and most elegant salads at this season of the year is composed of well-blanched endive, red beet-root, and fine celery, and it should be dressed in the manner I have already mentioned. Salad is a luxury, in general, very inadequately enjoyed at great dinners; first, because it is seldom dressed with much skill, and, secondly, because it is not sufficiently within reach.

TEA AND COFFEE.

I was intending to make coffee the subject of an article, when I received an anonymous communication beginning thus:—"When you next want a subject for 'The Original,' let me suggest to you to try your hand at a dissertation on making tea and coffee, so as to produce the best of each."

Making tea is a very simple process, and consists merely of pouring boiling water upon the leaf. In making both tea and coffee, I believe it is better to use water which has only just boiled, than that which has been long over the fire. The latter, I fancy, has something vapid about it, but of this I am not certain. Soft water I have always understood to be preferable to hard. It is scarcely necessary to say that in order to make good tea, it is requisite to provide a good

known in his profession as an accomplished physician, indefatigable editor, and original writer. He will long be remembered in the profession for the earnestness with which he vindicated the claim of Nature to be deemed the prime agent in the cure of disease, and among the reading public as the author of that very pleasant and instructive book, a "Physician's Holiday." Though he had a certain roughness of manner which contrasted with the more perfect polish of his namesake, he was often detected in acts of generous kindness, which he concealed from the parties interested with as much care as if he had cause to be ashamed of them.]

material. The process I should recommend, as most certain to prove satisfactory, is as follows. Have a kettle in the room. As soon as the water boils, pour some into the teapot to heat it; then put in as much tea as will produce the desired strength, not by long infusion, but almost immediately. Pour the water hot from the fire upon the tea. Put the quantity you like of sugar and good cream into your cup, and pour the tea upon them, stirring it as you pour, and all one way round, which causes a smoothness and amalgamation very agreeable to the palate. I am now supposing you to be drinking tea for the sake of the tea. Under other circumstances you must do as well as you can. During the season of fires, I think a kettle much preferable to an urn, as ensuring a better condition of the water. With respect to the look of the thing, that is no consideration with me in comparison with the real advantage. As to the trouble of reaching it, that is not much; and there is nothing good to be had without some trouble. Letting tea stand long to get the strength out, or putting it near the fire to stew, is a very erroneous practice. The quicker it is made the more delicate is its flavour. Long infusion makes it coarse and harsh. For this reason the second cup cannot be expected to be as agreeable as the first; but I recommend a habit to be acquired of taking only one cup on ordinary occasions. I think more weakens the digestive powers. A habit of sipping, insteading of gulping, will make a small quantity produce as much enjoyment as a large one, and the difference as to health and elasticity of tone is immense. This question of quantity I recommend to the consideration of ladies, some of whom are apt to think that there is no harm in liquids except from strength. A small quantity of finely-flavoured green tea, made rather strong, and mixed with a large proportion of hot milk, is a very agreeable variety at breakfast. The ingredients should be stirred well together. Speaking from my own experience, I should say it is expedient to be cautious in the use of green tea in the latter part of the day. Formerly I passed many sleepness nights without being at all aware that green tea was the cause. It sometimes makes me feel as if I should never want to sleep again; but that sensation is followed by a corresponding exhaustion, which must be very prejudicial to the system, especially in the case of persons subject to nervous affections. A cup of tea, with the addition of a little toast and an egg, according to the wants of the appetite, is particularly agreeable and satisfactory an hour or two before a late dinner; and in country houses, when a party comes in from the usual exercise, especially during the winter season, when there is a considerable interval before dinner, and where there is frequent exposure to cold or damp, there is something peculiarly pleasant, as I can assert from experience, in a little easy tea association.

Previously to exercise, or to much exertion of any kind, particularly where there is any hurrying, either of body or mind, tea is much preferable to coffee, whether at breakfast or at any other part of the day. Tea, in moderation, prevents fever and thirst; coffee causes them. Strong coffee, especially with eggs, taken at breakfast, and followed by any excitement, corporeal or mental, will produce a very disagreeable degree of thirst for the whole day. If it is used under such circumstances, it should be in great moderation. Any excess in strong coffee is at all times almost sure to produce feverish sensations. The French are particularly cautious in their use of coffee. At breakfast they dilute it with a great deal of hot milk, and after dinner, when they take it strong and without milk or cream, as far as my observation goes, they confine themselves strictly to one small cup. I once went, with a friend of mine, into a coffee-house at Paris, which was famous for the excellence of the coffee, and we drank two cups each. When we came to pay, we had some difficulty in persuading the waiter to take our money; he seemed to think our proceeding so much out of rule as to be scarcely credible. In travelling, which without care, is a constant state of fever, tea is greatly to be preferred on every account to coffee.

In what I have said in respect to making tea, and in what I am going to say respecting coffee, I can only give general ideas; those who wish to become proficients must trust to their own observation and experiments.

The art of making coffee is more difficult, at least it is more seldom succeeded in, in this country, than that of making tea. Coffee should be hot, clear, and strong. In the first place the material should be good; that from Mocha is the best, when it can be procured, which I believe is very rarely. I have been told by a great connoisseur that coffee imported in small parcels is better flavoured than that in bulk, from the circumstance that the latter is apt to undergo a process of heating, more or less. In order to have coffee in the greatest perfection, it should be roasted, ground, and made in immediate succession. As that can seldom happen, the rule should be observed as nearly as circumstances will allow. Whilst kept after roasting, the air should be excluded from it as much as possible, and, I believe, for that purpose a glass bottle or jar, with a ground stopper, is the most efficacious.

The best mode of roasting, I was informed by the authority above mentioned, is an earthen basin placed in an oven with the door open—the coffee to be frequently stirred with a spoon.* This mode is said to allow certain coarse particles to fly off, and to render the flavour

* [A high practical authority in such matters recommends the addition of a little fresh butter, as improving the flavour.]

more delicate than when the usual close cylinder is used. I only speak on this head from what I have been told, and I think I have heard a difference of opinion. The receipt I am going to give for making coffee, I have just learnt for the purpose from Doctor Forbes, whom I have quoted on the subject of salads. His coffee is excellent. He uses a biggin, which consists of a lower cylinder to receive the coffee when precipitated, and an upper one, the bottom of which is exceedingly finely pierced. The first thing to be done is to make the vessel hot with boiling water; then put the coffee into it in the proportion of a full ounce to two French cups, which hold five meat spoonfuls of liquid each. Do not, as is usual, press the coffee down at all, but only lightly level it. Put on to the top of the machine the moveable cullender, to break the fall of the water, which measure according to the quantity wanted, and pour it in quite boiling. As soon as it is run through, the coffee is ready.* By this process the coffee is perfectly clear and bright, and I think the proportion makes it strong enough, the material being of the first quality; but if it is desired to have it stronger, experiment will soon teach the proper quantity. It is convenient to have a measure containing an ounce, or whatever weight is in constant use. The same sized biggin will not answer well for making very different quantities. The upper cylinder, I apprehend, should be rather deep than wide, or the water would run through too fast. By not pressing the coffee down, it is much sooner made, and it appears altogether better, though the method was new to me.

The coffee may either be made just as it is wanted, or two or three hours before. In the latter case it should be made quite hot, when served, but on no account boiled, which wastes the flavour. In order to avoid any risk of boiling, it may safely be heated by insertion in boiling water. There is an opinion that it is rather better when heated again, than when used immediately after making, and there is also an opinion the other way. With respect to a lamp under the biggin, it is certainly convenient on many occasions, but I should think that coffee long kept hot in that way, would suffer a diminution of flavour. For large parties I suppose the biggin process is scarcely practicable.

I once learned the French mode from a professed maker; but it is so long since, that I cannot charge my memory with the precise particulars. As far as I recollect, the coffee is only just suffered to boil,

* [The high authority I have just quoted pours the hot liquid through a second and third time, by which the strength of the coffee is extracted without injury to the quality.]

or else is stopped just before the boiling point. It is fined, I think, by putting a small portion of the skin of a fish into it. One thing only I am certain of, and that is, that the water with which it is made, is previously boiled with a portion of the grounds of the former making in it, or with a small quantity of fresh coffee; opinions were divided, which was the better plan, but it was perfectly agreed that without one or other, there was always a rawness perceptible. Coffee, like tea, especially when drunk with milk or cream, should be well stirred. I do not recollect anything further to add.*

PRAISE OF WINE.

After my observations on the use of wine,† I think I may appropriately introduce Falstaff's humorous, but in many respects just and eloquent, panegyric upon sack, which is only a peculiar species of wine. The effect he describes it to have upon wit and learning, peculiarly applies to the table, and may afford a hint to those who circulate their wine as if it were merely designed for sensual purposes, that it has nobler uses.

"A good sherris-sack hath a twofold operation in it. It ascends me into the brain, dries me there all the foolish, dull, and crudy vapours, which environ it; makes it apprehensive, quick, forgetive,‡ full of nimble, fiery, and delectable shapes; which, delivered o'er to the voice, the tongue, which is the birth, becomes excellent wit. The second property of your excellent sherris is, the warming of the blood, which, before cold and settled, left the liver white and pale, which is the badge of pusillanimity and cowardice; but the sherris warms it, and makes it course from the inwards to the parts extreme. It illumineth the face, which, as a beacon, gives warning to all the rest of this little kingdom, man, to arm; and then the vital commoners, and inland petty spirits, muster me all to their captain, the heart; who, great and puffed up with this retinue, doth any deed of courage, and this valour comes of sherris. So that skill in the weapon is nothing without sack, for that sets it a-work; and learning, a mere hoard of gold kept by a devil, till sack commences it, and sets it in act and use. Hereof comes it that Prince Harry is valiant; for the cold blood he did naturally

* [I once thought that I had never tasted coffee so good as that which was made after the following fashion. The water was poured on the coffee cold, and heated to the boiling point; then allowed to simmer for several hours; and when wanted, the waste by evaporation being made good, it was again raised to the boiling point. Some *fining* was, I believe, required. Having lately caused an exact comparison of the two methods to be made, and tested the results, I pronounce in favour of the first method, which has also the obvious advantage of saving time and trouble.]

† P. 73 and seq. ‡ Imaginative.

inherit of his father, he hath, like lean, sterile, and bare land, manured, husbanded, and tilled, with excellent endeavour of drinking good, and good store of fertile sherris, that he has become very hot and valiant. If I had a thousand sons, the first human principle I would teach them, should be, to forswear thin potations, and addict themselves to sack."*

HOT WATER.

Having said much about wine, I will not omit all praise of hot water, the efficacy of which on many occasions in life is very great, and cannot be too generally known. I will begin with a remarkable cure effected by it on myself. Many years ago, when I was labouring under what I supposed to be an attack of common sore-throat, I rode some miles on horseback, with a north wind in my face. I then got into the mail, and travelled nearly two hundred miles, and at the end of my journey I could scarcely speak or swallow. In the morning I was still worse, and on attempting to force down a little coffee, I found it utterly impossible. In this extremity, a physician, now among the most eminent of his profession, called upon me partly through accident. He told me I had got a very bad quinsy, and he immediately ordered a kettle of hot water, recommending me to gargle with it as hot as I could bear, and continually. As we were on intimate terms, and he was then only commencing practice, he remained with me two or three hours to enforce his prescription. I found so much benefit, that after he was gone I persevered till night, at which time I was enabled to take food without difficulty, and in the morning there was no trace whatever of the attack, nor have I ever experienced another, though I was told it would most probably be the case. The medicine ordered me I did not taste, and the sole glory of my rapid and complete cure is due to the hot water.† I have never had even a common sore-throat

* [The author might have cited a much higher, though less poetic, authority in favour of sack in the person of Dr. Hodges, to whom we are indebted for much of what we know of the Great Plague of London. This sensible and brave physician gratefully extols "*the virtues of sack*," especially when it combined the recommendations of being "middle-aged, neat, fine, bright, racy, and of a walnut flavour." This generous liquor he deemed both antidote and remedy, unless for those who used it "too intemperately." The worthy doctor's practite was to drink a glass before dinner, and more after it, to take a glass whenever he had what he deemed "the least approaches of the infection;" and he "concluded the evening at home by drinking to cheerfulness of his old favourite liquor, which encouraged sleep, and an easy breathing through the pores at night."]

† [This is a good example of the fallacy of many popular opinions on medical matters. From the author's description of his attack it is obvious that the quinsy had arrived at that stage at which the only possible relief is by a discharge of matter. Hot water could have no curative effect in such a case; but, through a happy coincidence, art earned the credit due to nature.]

since, or I should certainly try the same remedy, though I never heard of its being so applied.

In bruises I have found hot water most efficacious, both by means of immersion and fomentation, in removing pain, and totally preventing discoloration and stiffness. It has the same effect after a blow.* It should be applied as quickly as possible, and as hot as it can be borne. Very cold water, applied immediately, will produce the same effect, though for a different reason. I was told the other day, by very high authority, that immersion in hot water would cure that troublesome and very painful thing, called a whitlow. Hot water has also great efficacy in the common and painful accident of crushing the fingers; for instance, in shutting a drawer, or a door. It will effectually prevent the nails from going black, and removes the pain with great quickness. Very cold water, if instantly applied, will produce the same effect. It is useful that children, who are most liable to such accidents, and often suffer greatly from them, should be made aware of these easy remedies.

The efficacy of hot water in preventing the ill effects of fatigue is too well known to require notice. I should think where water cannot be procured, that in the case of a bruise or blow, immediate and continued friction with the hand would partly answer the purpose, by keeping up the action of the vessels. I infer this particularly, because I once avoided any inconvenience from a severe bruise, by keeping myself in vigorous action. As I was crossing Smithfield one evening at a quick pace on my way to my office, I ran against a bar, and struck myself a little above the knees with such violence as to make me stagger. The pain was very great, but as I had no time to lose, and there was no vehicle at hand, I hurried on, at first with much difficulty, but by degrees more easily. The distance is about two miles, and, on my arrival, all sensation of pain was gone, nor was there afterwards either stiffness or discoloration. If I had not kept in action, I am sure I should have felt the effects of the blow for a very long time.

It may be useful to some people to be informed, that sealing-wax dropped upon the hand will cause no injury beyond momentary pain, if it is suffered to remain till quite cold.

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* [A stout friend of mine, fresh from a collision with a lamp-post, encountered an athletic gentleman who, in his time, had given and received many a hard blow. He prescribed a liquid application, of which corrosive sublimate was the chief ingredient, assuring the sufferer that it would infallibly prevent a black eye. His lotion was applied without loss of time, and with due diligence. But nevertheless the eye and its surroundings soon assumed, and for some time retained, all the colours of a well-marked bruise.]

EQUALITY OF STYLE.

I was once passing some time alone with a bachelor friend of mine at his country-house. After dinner he always drank claret, being the wine he preferred. On one occasion he had a large party of the neighbouring gentry to dine with him, and the following day, when claret was produced as usual, he asked me if I had not thought it strange that he had not set any before his guests. On my answering that I had certainly observed the fact, he informed me it would have been his wish to have done so, and that formerly it had been his practice on such occasions, but that he had thought right to discontinue it, because among the party there were some who had families to provide for from means inferior to his own, but who, he had learned from observation, scrupulously made a point of entertaining him as he had entertained them, though he knew it was neither convenient to them, nor in accordance with their usual style. Of course I approved of his consideration.

Here was a case of a gentleman being restrained in his hospitality, and himself and his friends curtailed in their enjoyment, from a most absurd, though very common, species of pride. In bringing my experience to bear upon this subject, it seems to me that pride of this kind is altogether confined to those who have lived in a contracted circle, whether as to space, or as to the different classes of society. I cannot call to mind any instances of those who have mixed much with the world being at all infected with it, whereas the high-minded and the liberal on other points are often weak on this, unless they have had their ideas enlarged by varied social intercourse, which teaches men more than anything else the true value of things, and leads them not to attach importance to matters of no importance.

The fundamental cause of this foolish pride I take to be a jealousy of superiority in wealth, from an over-estimate of its value as compared with other things, though the feeling is attempted to be disguised with the greatest possible care; as a man of slender means, who piques himself upon his birth, has the greatest horror of being entertained by a wealthy upstart better than he can make a return, at the same time professing to hold wealth in the utmost contempt. This is a manifest contradiction; but, even in this inveterate case, a want of knowledge of the world is a necessary ingredient.

Poor men of good birth are often excluded from mixed society by their own folly, and by other causes; but where they are men of the world, they are generally among the most ready to partake of its good things without troubling themselves overmuch about the return; and I never knew one of such who was foolish enough to be restrained in

its intercourse by notions of strict reciprocity. People who are confined to a small neighbourhood, or who never mix but with one class, are almost always strongly infected with this pride. It does not prevail much amongst persons of very different stations, but chiefly among those who are nearly on an equality, and who are most subject to jealousy of one another. To those who are above it, it appears truly ridiculous. It has this inconvenience, that it prevents free intercourse between neighbours who have a different command of pecuniary means, upon those terms which would be most advantageous to them both; for not only does it require that the style of entertainments should be the same on both sides, but that the number should be balanced.

No one thinks of requiring an equality of sense, or wit, or learning, and why should the rule be different with respect to dishes or wines, except from a vulgar-minded feeling that money is more estimable than those qualities? The observance of equality of style is not always the result of pride, but often of an idea that it will be expected, or that without it there will be some dissatisfaction; but the sensible mode of proceeding is, for all to keep regularly to that style which best suits their means, and then intercourse will find its true level. If the man of luxurious style seeks the society of his neighbour of simple style, it is because he finds some equivalent, and it is a loss to both that pride should bar their intercourse. The truth is, that the party who has the most limited means often stands on the highest ground, because the difference is made up by something superior to wealth.

So far as equality of style prevails in London society it may be said, in general, to be the result rather of slavery to fashion than of pride, and often of fear of causing disappointment. I have heretofore touched upon what I conceive to be its disadvantages. It is a pity that, with the enjoyment of more political liberty than any other nation, we should make ourselves the slaves of so many absurd customs and fashions, and that, with courage enough against a foreign enemy, we should display such cowardice at home. It is to be hoped that in time we shall be able to do as we please, domestically as well as politically, provided we cause no inconvenience to others. At present, with a great deal that is reasonable, we live under a combination of restraints.

CLUBS.

One of the greatest and most important modern changes in society is the present system of clubs. The facilities of living have been wonderfully increased by them in many ways, whilst the expense has

been greatly diminished. For a few pounds a year advantages are to be enjoyed, which no fortunes, except the most ample, can procure. I can best illustrate this by a particular instance.

The only club I belong to is the Athenæum, which consists of twelve hundred members, amongst whom are to be reckoned a large proportion of the most eminent persons in the land, in every line, civil, military, and ecclesiastical, peers, spiritual and temporal, commoners, men of the learned professions, those connected with science, the arts, and commerce in all its different branches, as well as the distinguished, who do not belong to any particular class. Many of these are to be met with every day, living with the same freedom as in their own houses. For six guineas a-year every member has the command of an excellent library, with maps; of the daily papers, English and foreign, the principal periodicals, and every material for writing, with attendance for whatever is wanted. The building is a sort of palace, and is kept with the same exactness and comfort as a private dwelling. Every member is a master, without any of the trouble of a master. He can come when he pleases, and stay away as long as he pleases, without anything going wrong. He has the command of regular servants, without having to pay or to manage them. He can have whatever meal or refreshment he wants, at all hours, and served up with the cleanliness and comfort of his own home. He orders just what he pleases, having no interest to think of but his own. In short, it is impossible to suppose a greater degree of liberty in living.

To men who reside in the country, and who come occasionally to town, a club is particularly advantageous. They have only to take a bedroom, and they have everything else they want in a more convenient way than by any other plan. Married men, whose families are absent, find the nearest resemblance to the facilities of home in the arrangements of a club; and bachelors of moderate incomes, or simple habits, are gainers by such institutions in a degree beyond calculation. They live much cheaper, with more ease and freedom, in far better style, and with much greater advantages as to society, than formerly.

Before the establishment of clubs, no money could procure many of the enjoyments which are now within the reach of an income of three hundred a-year; and the difference between that part of men's lives when they are entering the world, heretofore and at present, is very remarkable. Neither the same facilities of living, nor the same opportunities of cultivating society, could have been commanded twenty years since, on any terms. In those days, every mode of living for a young man upon the town was attended with something irksome—expense on one hand, uncomfort on the other—confinement

very much to the same limited circle of acquaintance, not so much from choice, perhaps, as from necessity, and obligation to conform to arbitrary rules of living, instead of, as now, freely following the inclination.

Clubs, as far as my observation goes, are favourable to economy of time. There is a fixed place to go to, everything is served with comparative expedition, and it is not customary in general to remain long at table. They are favourable to temperance. It seems that when people can freely please themselves, and when they have an opportunity of living simply, excess is seldom committed.

From an account I have of the expenses at the Athenæum in the year 1832, it appears that seventeen thousand three hundred and twenty-three dinners cost, on an average, two shillings and ninepence three farthings each, and that the average quantity of wine for each person was a small fraction more than half a pint. Many people drink no wine, some only one glass; and excess, or even anything approaching to it, may be said to be unknown.

I have often found that the beginning of excess was to be traced, at taverns and coffee-houses, to calling for more than was wanted, for the good of the house, and not to appear shabby. The consequence was an unfitness for leaving the table, which induced further indulgence, not from absolute inclination, but from not knowing what else to do. It is otherwise where people begin only with what they desire; as soon as they are satisfied, it is easy to stop: but if a man who only wants half a pint of wine, thinks himself obliged to order double the quantity when he has finished it, he will probably go on still further, from a mere disinclination to move, caused by the first trifling excess.

One of the most important advantages attending clubs is the circumstance of their affording a harmless place of resort at all hours. They are harmless, because there is nothing going on but conversation, study, or a little play for the sake of amusement; and it is a great preventive of expense and irregularities to be able to pass those intervals from business or other engagements, which are otherwise difficult to dispose of, in security from temptation.

Lord Chesterfield, who must be allowed to have been a good judge in such matters, has given it as his opinion, that ten times more men are ruined from the adoption of vice, than from natural inclination. Now nothing leads people more to adopt vice than the difficulty of employing their leisure hours, and those periods when a disinclination to solitude comes on. Men do not in general acquire a habit of bad company for the love of bad company, but because it is the easiest to get into, or perhaps at the moment the only resource: and those who only make occasional aberrations, are probably most frequently induced

to do so by temptation presenting itself, and there being no other attraction at hand. A club is a constant provision against these dangers for those who wish to avail themselves of it; and whether a man is weary of solitude, or is not quite ready for it after the enjoyments of society, he has always a resource in the easy attractions of his club, where he may harmlessly while away the hour or half hour which he would otherwise be at a loss to dispose of.

In my opinion, a well-constituted club is an institution affording advantages unmixed with alloy. I am aware that such is not the view which ladies are disposed to take of the subject, but I think they judge from a misapprehension of facts, and that in the end they will be no small gainers by the improvement of the habits of the men, likely, or rather certain, to result from the course of life pursued in clubs. The objections I have heard stated are, that clubs make men independent of female society, the effects of which are already sensibly felt; that they prevent men from thinking of marrying; and that if they do marry, the luxury and comfort they have enjoyed at so easy and cheap a rate, render them discontented with home.

With respect to the objection that clubs make men independent of female society, I can only say, that at the Athenæum it is certainly not the case. In the first place, very few members breakfast there, and of those few the majority are generally visitors to town, who, if not at the club, would be at a coffee-house. There is a greater number to read the morning papers, who have breakfasted at home, and take the club in their way to their business. During the day there is a succession of stragglers who look in as they pass by, or have occasion to consult books or write letters. There is generally the largest assembly between the arrival of the evening papers and the hour of dinner, when people congregate on their way to their respective homes; but as it is to learn the news, and to give invitations, the ladies can be no losers by such a practice.

From the number of dinners I have already mentioned to have taken place at the Athenæum in 1832, it appears the daily average of dinners was forty-seven and a fraction; and if from that number be deducted those members, who, independently of clubs, from their avocations or their habits, or any other reason, would have been taking a solitary meal, it cannot be said that female society was much affected; nor is it more so at present. In those hours of the evening which are peculiarly dedicated to society, I should think, on an average, twenty members could not be counted at any one time throughout the suite of rooms upstairs, the largest of which is one hundred and three feet long, and thirty wide; indeed, in general, when I have gone there in the evening, it has been as into a sort of desert. If female society

be neglected, it is not owing to the institution of clubs, but more probably to the long sittings of the House of Commons, and to the want of easy access to family circles. For the most part, female society is only to be met with at formal and laborious dinners, and overcrowded and frivolous parties, attendance on the latter of which men of sense soon find out to be a nuisance and a degradation.

It was said by a man of high rank, large fortune, and extraordinary accomplishments, that he did not know a single house in London where he could venture to ask for a cup of tea; and though this might not be literally true, it argues a lamentable degree of restraint. An easy access to female society, and the club system for men, in my opinion, would go very well together. I must here remark, that at the Athenæum I never heard it even hinted, that married men frequented it to the prejudice of their domestic habits, or that bachelors were kept from general society.

As to the objection that clubs prevent men from thinking of marrying, I think they can only have that effect so far as to prevent them from thinking of marrying prematurely, but that their ultimate tendency is to encourage marriage, by creating habits in accordance with those of the married state. In opposition to ladies' objection to clubs, I would suggest this important distinction,—that they are a preparation, and not a substitute, for domestic life. Compared with the previous system of living, clubs induce habits of economy, temperance, refinement, regularity, and good order; and as men are in general not content with their condition, so long as it can be improved, it is a natural step from the comforts of a club to those of matrimony, and I certainly think there cannot be a better security for the good behaviour of a husband, than that he has been trained in one of those institutions.

When ladies suppose that the luxuries and comforts of a club are likely to make men discontented with the enjoyments of domestic life, I think they wrong themselves. One of the chief attractions of a club is, that it offers an imitation of the comforts of home, but only an imitation, and one which will never supersede the reality. As to luxuries, I have shown that in the Athenæum the mode of living is simple rather than luxurious, and in some of the other clubs the scale is still more economical; whilst at the Travellers', which is the most expensive, there is no approach, considering the class of which it is composed, and taking the average, to anything like excessive luxury.

There is one hint, which I think ladies might take with advantage from clubs, in their domestic management, and that is, that the style of dinner is the easy, and not the ornamental—a difference upon which I have already made some remarks in my article on the Art of Dining;

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and I will conclude with recommending them not to fancy any comparisons unfavourable to themselves, but confidently to trust to those powers, which, if they use well, they cannot use in vain.

GOOD CHEER.

Good cheer is a most potent engine. When well timed, it wins goodwill, and commands exertion more effectively than anything else. When well understood, it goes far at little cost. There was a gentleman in times past, who represented a very large county for several parliaments, at no other expense than hospitably entertaining a set of hungry fox-hunters whenever they happened to come near his house. I was once at a starving coursing party, where one of the company won all our hearts by a well-timed supply of bread and cheese and ale from a lone pothouse. The only election I ever assisted at, that was throughout effectively managed, owed such management in no small degree to a constant supply of sandwiches and madeira to the committee. I consider good cheer as the very cement of good government. It prevents ill blood, brings different classes together, ensures attendance and causes alacrity, vigour, and despatch. The doctrine I always hold to the parishes with which I have anything to do is, that they must either eat together or quarrel together, that they must either have tavern bills or attorneys' bills. The public has no way of being so well served as by furnishing good cheer, though the public, or those who call themselves the public, do not seem to think so just at present.

A FRENCHMAN'S IDEA OF AN ENGLISH DINNER.

How difficult it is for those not "to the manner born" to acquire accurate ideas of the ways of their fellow men! A French emigrant of some property, who had experienced great hospitality during the late war in a town in the north of England, on the eve of his departure invited his entertainers to a dinner, which, on their arrival, he informed them with much apparent satisfaction he had taken care should be in the true English fashion. To verify his words, there was a hare at the top of the table, a hare at the bottom, and a pie containing three brace of partridges in the middle. The second course consisted of a large piece of roast beef and a goose. Out of all rule as was this feast, still it exhibited the principal features, though exaggerated and inverted, of a substantial English dinner—a joint and poultry, and a course of game. How many descriptions by foreigners of the habits, customs, and ways of thinking of any people, are not more faithful than was this confident attempt at imitation! Nay, often natives themselves, when treating of what belongs to any class but

their own, fall into as great errors. It is only profound observers who are aware of this difficulty of attaining accuracy. Those who have seen little, or seen imperfectly, seldom distrust their own knowledge. I remember once in a party of travelled men, where the conversation turned upon the comparative merits of English and continental inns, by far the most decided opinion was given by a young officer, whose experience of the continent proved to have been confined to forty-eight hours' residence at Quillacq's hotel at Calais.

III. THE ART OF TRAVELLING.

(WITH LETTERS FROM THE CONTINENT, AND MISCELLANEA.)

In my first number, I promised to make some observations on the art of travelling, which promise I shall now perform, not professing to offer a complete set of rules, but only such as occur to me at a considerable distance from actual experience, and such as I do not recollect to have seen elsewhere.

Travelling may be said to be a state of great pleasure, mixed with great annoyance; but by management the former may be much increased, and the latter proportionably diminished.

In whatever way you travel, I particularly recommend you to guard against the cravings of hunger, both for your health's sake, and in order the better to preserve placidity of temper, which, with every precaution, is exposed to frequent disturbance. When your mind is ruffled, you can neither see with pleasure nor profit, and the natives are pretty sure to revenge themselves for your ill-humour by imposing upon you.

On setting out on the last long journey I made, which was in a private carriage with one companion, I bought a small basket, and caused it to be filled with cold provisions, bread, and fruit, and I kept it constantly replenished during ten months, whenever we were upon the road, to which circumstance I mainly attribute the fact that we never had the shadow of a disagreement or an uncomfort. There is nothing like a basket of this sort for diminishing the dreadful tediousness of uncertain distances at the end of a long day, and it is a great consolation in case of accidental stoppages. In aid of it, I purchased two clasp-knives, and forks attached, a couple of tumblers, and a snuff-box, with an almanack on the lid, by way of salt-cellar. A quarto French dictionary served for a table, and so equipped we almost defied fortune. At the inns where we slept, I always made special

mention of the basket over-night, and the consequence was, it was frequently specially filled, particularly with excellent game, which, with bread, and grapes, or figs, we found extremely palatable and wholesome. Where the wine was good, we generally carried off a bottle or two; but wine, and indeed any liquid, ought to be sparingly used on such occasions, and an hour or two after eating: otherwise the motion of the carriage prevents digestion, and induces feverishness. The fruit, taken by way of vegetables, supplies in a great measure the place of liquids.

The proper and most agreeable mode of refreshing is in small quantities, and frequently;* and the only thing to be guarded against is, to leave sufficient appetite for the meals you intend to take where you stop, and this sometimes requires a little judgment and resolution. Some people have a habit, and rather make a boast of it, of travelling long distances without taking anything; but I strongly recommend the basket system, having tried both plans. In public conveyances, I think a sandwich-box might be convenient. I shall conclude this part of my observations, with referring my reader to my article on Health at p. 31, in which I have mentioned a remarkable proof of the efficacy of the basket.

One of the greatest annoyances in travelling, is continual exposure to imposition; but this may, by good management, be frequently avoided, either altogether or in part, as by bad management it may be greatly increased.

There are four kinds of imposers. The first are downright rogues, who make a point of taking advantage whenever they have the power; but even they have degrees of extortion, according to the behaviour of their victims. The second are a sort of good-tempered, easy imposers, who impose as a matter of course, but whom a little good management almost immediately turns from their purpose. They are willing to impose upon you if you are willing to be imposed upon, but otherwise not. On remonstrance they will pretend they have made a mistake, or that if you are not satisfied they do not wish to have any dispute. The third will not attempt imposition, unless they are encouraged to it by some foolish display or swagger; nor the fourth, until they are provoked by unreasonableness or discourtesy.

My observation tells me there is no preventive against these different kinds of imposition so sure as a certain quiet, composed bearing, indica-

* [This was certainly the experience of that great traveller, John Howard. In a letter to Mr. Whitbread, written at Amsterdam, Jan. 18, 1787, he says, "Being well, I never stopped the first 500 miles of my journey, except for the change of horses, since I had a loaf of bread and apples with me."]

tive at once of self-respect and of consideration for others. I have made many experiments in the matter under various circumstances, both in this country and abroad, and the result seems to me to be, that by such behaviour you ensure greater attention at a lower cost than by any other course; and having adopted such a course, I think that on the Continent you may still be exposed, when actually travelling, to imposition to the extent of about ten per cent. upon your expenditure, to which, for comfort's sake, and to avoid the chance of being wrong, which frequently happens in small matters, it is wise to submit—without keeping yourself in a constant fever, and state of distraction from the only objects worthy of attention. I am speaking now of those who have little or no experience; others will be able to protect themselves to a greater extent.

One of the most desirable qualities in travelling is punctuality or readiness. Without it there is but small satisfaction, either to yourselves or those with you. In all my journeys I was always ready in time, but often with a good deal of bustling and hurry, till one morning in Switzerland I looked out of my window as I was dressing, and saw a gentleman who had just joined the party, pacing backwards and forwards before the inn with a degree of composure, which made me determine to imitate what he told me was his constant rule, to be ready at least a quarter of an hour before the time. I adopted the practice thenceforward, and found the greatest advantage from it. One of the benefits of habitual punctuality is the confidence it inspires; the uncertainty of unpunctuality is a continual drawback to enjoyment. It hangs over one like a cloud.

The quickest mode of acquiring a good idea of any place is to take the earliest opportunity of ascending some tower, or eminence, from which there is a commanding view, with some person who can point out the most remarkable objects. If this is followed up by wandering about without a guide, and trusting solely to your own observation, you will be as well acquainted with the localities in a few hours, as the generality of travellers would be in a week, or perhaps better, because your impressions would be stronger. I do not mean by this to supersede the employment of guides in sight-seeing, for they are very useful in saving time. The first day I arrived at Rome I met a classical friend, who had been there some time, and who had made himself completely master of the place. He took me to the top of the tower in the capitol, and pointed out everything remarkable, so that from the very beginning I acquired a sort of familiar acquaintance with the city and its environs, and was never at a loss afterwards. As soon as you have seen all you wish to see in any place, and do not mean to make it a residence, it is advisable without delay

to proceed on your journey. Many people lose a great deal of time in loitering, and to no purpose whatever, because it is impossible under such circumstances to settle to anything.

Wherever you are, it is good to fall into the customs and habits of the place; for though sometimes they may be a little inconvenient, it is generally much more so to run counter to them. Those who will have their own way never succeed, but at much greater cost than success is worth.

Before setting out upon a journey it is advantageous to be rather more abstemious than usual for a day or two, as the sudden change of habits, even with the most regular livers, is apt to produce some derangement of system; and at any rate such a course makes the body accommodate itself better to the motion and confinement of a carriage, upon which I have made some remarks in my articles on the "Attainment of Health."

It is particularly desirable to make the necessary arrangements with respect to luggage, passports, &c., a little beforehand, and not to be in a feverish hurry and bustle at the last moment, with the chance of forgetting something of importance. Setting out at one's ease is a good omen for the rest of the journey.

With respect to luggage, I recommend the greatest compactness possible, as being attended with constant and many advantages, and in general I think people are rather over-provident in taking more than they want.

Avoid being intrusted with sealed letters, or carrying anything contraband, for yourself or others. A necessity for concealment causes a perpetual anxiety, and has a tendency to destroy that openness of manner which is often very serviceable in getting on. Avoid also commissions except for particular reasons; they are generally very troublesome and encumbering.

When the weather will permit avail yourself of opportunities of quitting your carriage to take exercise; as whilst the horses are changing, walk about or walk forward, taking care only not to get into a wrong road, of which sometimes there is danger.

If you pay yourself, a great deal of your comfort will depend upon management. I once posted a considerable distance through France with a Bohemian courier who did not understand paying, so I undertook it for my companion. As I wished always to walk forward on changing horses it was an object to me to save time, and the course I pursued was this: I took care to have a constant supply of change of every necessary denomination, and to ascertain what it was usual in the different parts of the country to give the postilions. Before

arriving at each post-house I calculated by the post-book the charge for the horses, and on arrival I had the exact sum ready, which I put in the postilion's hand, saying, with a confident air, so much for the horses, so much for driving, and so much to drink. The consequence was I lost no time; the money was received without any objection, and almost always with thanks. By a less decided or less accurate method the trouble and vexation are great, and you have to do with a set of people who are never satisfied. If you do not know what the amount is, or hold your purse in your hand, or exhibit any hesitation or doubt, you are immediately attacked and pestered in the most importunate and tormenting manner. It has a great effect, I believe, with the postilions to separate their gratuity into the driving and the drink money. They consider it, I was told, as a sort of attention, and certainly I found the observance of the rule very useful. A certain sum for driving, with four or five sous to drink, will elicit thanks, when a larger amount, not distinguished, will only excite importunity. I am speaking of what was the case fifteen years since, and I think it was the same in Italy. Decision of manner in paying has universally a good effect; but then it is necessary to make the best inquiries as to what is right.

An Englishman in foreign countries need have no fear that any courtesy he may be disposed to show will not meet with an adequate, or more than adequate, return. A foreigner connects with his idea of an Englishman wealth, freedom, and pride. The two former qualities inspire him with a feeling of his own inferiority, whatever he may profess to the contrary, and the last has the effect of preventing him from hazarding the first advance, or if he does venture, it is generally with caution and distrust. For the same reason he will not unfrequently receive an advance with a degree of suspicion, which has the appearance of dislike; but the moment he feels anything approaching to a confidence of courteous treatment he is eager to meet it more than half-way. English reserve and this foreign suspicion combine to keep up a distance and sort of alienation in appearance, which do not exist in reality, and which it is in an Englishman's power to dispel whenever he pleases. All things considered, it is next to impossible that foreigners should not feel that Englishmen enjoy a decided superiority, and it is useful in travelling to bear in mind this fact, not for the purpose of gratifying pride, but of showing a disposition above it. English courtesy bears a high premium everywhere, and the more so because it has universally the credit of being sincere. An habitual exercise of it in travelling is an excellent passport. I do not at present recollect any other observations on the Art

of Travelling which are not commonly to be met with, but I feel confident that the few I have given, if attended to, may be of considerable service.

[As obviously belonging to his subject, it is to be regretted that the author did not discourse on the not unimportant art of *Travelling on Foot*—the most independent form of locomotion, and to healthy and vigorous persons by far the most enjoyable. The following experiences form part of a long paragraph headed "Miscellaneous," and they find their proper place here.]

In my foolish days I have been foot-sore for a fortnight from toiling at one start over that distance, which now, by good management, I should perform with ease and benefit. I once set out, with a friend of mine, to walk thirty miles. He was quite unused to that mode of travelling, and, besides, at starting found himself not altogether well. From consideration for him I was obliged to be very careful, much more so than I should have been if alone. We set off gently, and at the end of four miles breakfasted, after which he quite recovered. At the end of eleven miles further we had mutton chops and spiced ale, both in moderation. My companion was so fresh at the end of his journey, that he ran over Waterloo Bridge, and we both went out to parties the same evening, as if we had only taken a walk in the park. I have performed the same distance more than once at one start, but never without inconvenience for some time after. It is not calculable what may be accomplished in everything in life, as well as in walking, by moderate beginnings and judicious perseverance. It is the great secret of success.

[With the pedestrian, as with the foot soldier, a most important point to be attended to is the state of the feet. Care should be taken to start with thick, nailed, easy, but not loose fitting shoes, and thick, well-woven, close-fitting worsted stockings. If blisters form, coarse cotton thread should be passed through them with a sharp needle, and the ends cut off near the margin of the sore. If this is done over night, the journey may be resumed next morning. It would be well worth the while of a pedestrian afflicted with corns or other defects to begin by engaging the services of a skilled chiropodist.]

LETTERS FROM THE CONTINENT.

A short series of familiar letters, written by me in 1822, during a journey on the Continent, lately came into my hands; and by way of variety, I propose giving such extracts as I think may afford any amusement to my readers.

Genoa, January 12, 1822.

I was rather disappointed with Nice, though some of the environs are pretty, and the gulf of Villa Franca as lovely as anything I ever saw.

It was so cold in the early part of the mornings, that I was obliged to protect my hands in my walks by keeping them in my pockets, and nearly the same at night—whereas in the middle of the day I bathed in the sea, I may almost say, to cool myself. This vicissitude must render it necessary for invalids to be very careful. The air is so dry, that notwithstanding the sharp frosts, we had young peas every day for dinner, and I observed the plants in flower and pod, as if it had been summer. In the inn-garden were orange trees loaded with ripe fruit. The olive groves about Nice are particularly fine, and the shade in hot weather must be delightful. I remarked many trees five feet in diameter, and bearing the marks of extreme old age. The north coast of the Mediterranean seems to be particularly favourable to the olive, and it visibly degenerates, in whichever direction it recedes. The oranges in this country are not near so good as we get in England, but I like them for their freshness; and for the same reason I think the lemons delicious. After all, the trees, as they are pruned for bearing, are too formal to be beautiful: they look like trees in a pantomime, but they certainly give the environs of Nice a very rich appearance.

On New Year's day all the inhabitants of any consideration were out in the street in full court dresses, calling upon one another, and when they met, kissing in the streets—very wretches most of them—priests hugging officers, and officers hugging priests. I hugged myself that I knew none of them, to have such a liberty taken with me by such rapscallions.

We embarked on board a felucca on the 4th, but landed at Monaco on account of contrary winds. There we took mules to this place, the road being rendered impracticable for carriages by the greatest storm there has been for forty years. We had a very pleasant, healthy, and interesting journey of four days, with three mules and two muleteers on foot, who kept pace with us, sometimes at the rate of seven miles an hour. The road is most interesting from the beautiful situations of the towns and villages, the almost constant view of the sea, the numerous and extensive olive, and orange, and lemon groves, and the various evergreens and herbs with which the rocks and mountains are covered. I recognised many plants which we grow in greenhouses. We entered Genoa at full trot, Chapuis, our courier, in grand costume, galloping before us, cracking his whip in the true French style, cutting right and left at everybody that came in his way, swearing and calling

out in the most imperious manner, and our two muleteers running along in the greatest glee. At first I was quite ashamed of the display, but everybody seemed to take it in good part, and rather to like what in England would have caused Chapuis to have been knocked off his mule at least twenty times. He had been courier to Buonaparte, and he seemed to forget for the moment that he was not in the imperial service.

I must not omit to mention the excellence of my mule, which I rode down the steepest and most slippery places in perfect safety. She only committed one fault, and that was in stopping at an inn, when the muleteers were in advance. Two men whipping behind, two pulling before, and myself kicking in the middle, could not induce her to move, except kicking most violently both behind and before, till at last one of the muleteers returned and set me forward.

What a splendid place Genoa is! The palaces I think much superior in magnificence to those at Venice, and I have never seen anything comparable to the line of the three principal streets. The environs too are quite delightful on all sides, and I never saw such a number of magnificent residences. The room in which I am writing is splendidly ornamented with gilding and fresco painting. I do not think I ever saw in London so superb an apartment; but in cold weather, as this is, it is impossible to keep oneself warm. The floors are all tiled. It seems the fashion to live high up. Our rooms, which are in the principal suite of a former palace, are nearly at the top of a lofty building. We have eighty-six marble steps to ascend to get to them, and it is something the same in most of the palaces I have seen. I believe the family in general only occupy the principal floor, and sometimes content themselves with less: and, indeed, it is impossible for an individual to want the whole of some of these immense piles. In one palace I counted twenty-five windows in front on one floor. In many, carriages drive into the vestibule; and the staircases, landing places, and halls are in proportion. To-day all the world was out. The men wrap themselves up in large cloaks, but the women are lightly clad, and wear only a thin piece of muslin thrown over their heads, but not covering the face, with dark curls on each side the forehead. The lower orders use printed calico. The muslin gives an elegant and delicate appearance, and in general the complexions are good, and the manner and air prepossessing. The men, too, are rather a fine race. The more I see of the place, the more I admire it.

Lerici, January 16, 1822.

Yesterday we travelled on horseback all day over wild and barren mountains, the road often very steep and rugged; but where it would

permit we generally went at full gallop. We changed horses at every post, and a man, meant for a postilion, though perfectly unlike our idea of one, rode before us. The cattle and furniture were of the most curious description—rather of a beggarly description, or rather, they beggar description; however, the beasts get along and are much safer than they look. A priest, and a lady riding astride, or rather sitting on the top of her horse with one foot on each side, as is the manner here, accompanied us part of the way. The felucca arrived this morning with our carriage; but because the captain had taken a passenger on board who was not mentioned in his papers, a council of health deliberated before it could be landed. You have no idea how strict they are on this coast, for fear of infection.

Florence, February 2nd.

I do not like Florence as a city so much as I expected; but the statues and paintings are above all praise. I idolize the Venus, and go to worship her almost every morning. There is an air of divinity about her, which did not break in upon me till after repeated contemplation, and which, I dare say, the many never discover at all, though they praise her as if they did. Pieced, restored, discoloured, what must she have been when fresh from the sculptor's chisel?

On Thursday we went to a grand ball, given by the Prince Borghese, Buonaparte's brother-in law, on the opening of his palace, after a complete refitting. He is the richest man in Florence. All the best people here, both natives and foreigners, with many ladies from Sienna and Bologna, were present. The vestibule was filled with orange trees, so as to form a delicious grove for the company to pass through, and the staircase was lined with beautiful plants and flowers, amongst which was a profusion of the finest lilies of the valley I ever saw. There were sixteen rooms open, all newly and superbly decorated. The ball-room, which is large, lofty, and well proportioned, is lined, as far as is seen, with mirrors, partially concealed by pink and white silk hangings. The ceiling is newly painted with the triumph of Scipio. The whole was most brilliantly lighted, the music excellent, and the company in their best. The Englishmen were superior in appearance to the Englishwomen—the contrary as to the Florentines. The Italian ladies dress beautifully, especially the head. Indeed this is truly the land of taste, and I never saw such a display of it as the other night, in many particulars. Several of the Italian women were very fine-looking—two beautiful; one so much so, that she was constantly the centre of a circle of gazers, in which situation custom, I suppose, had made her perfectly, but becomingly, at her ease. I preferred the other, from a nameless something in her appearance, and I was glad to

learn that, though of high rank and great riches, her fame is as fair as her person—a very singular case here. I am happy to say my companion was the most elegant man in the room by much, and I think the most gentleman-like dancer. The Italians do not appear to me to dance well, and, what surprised me, I observed several out of time.

Italian horses do not well understand English riding, and many are the accidents in consequence. I was one of a party the other day in the Cascine, or Hyde Park of Florence, when it was proposed to charge a ditch. The foremost horse fell, and in rising contrived to drive in with his forefoot the lower part of his rider's nose, so as in appearance utterly to annihilate it. He was horribly disfigured; and as he is a young and gay fellow, when he felt the full extent of the injury, he was naturally a good deal affected. He had all our sympathies. Two of us galloped off for medical assistance, and the rest put him into a carriage, which a Russian nobleman lent on the occasion. By the time the patient arrived, in our zeal we had collected five doctors, surgeons, and apothecaries, English and Italian, but happily little remained for them to do. During his melancholy progress, accompanied by one of the party, the sufferer by an irresistible impulse, kept applying his hand to the part affected, till most unexpectedly, and precisely after the manner of the toy called Jack-in-the-box, the nose started into its proper place again, and at the same instant despair was converted into extravagant joy.

This accident has had the effect of making us rather more careful hitherto, which may contribute to the safety of others, as well as our own.

A few days since, in making a sharp turn quick, I was very near riding over the Grand Duke, who was walking with his family. Such things, which might be attended with unpleasant consequences to natives, are overlooked in the English; partly, I suppose, from consideration of our national character, and partly, no doubt, from motives of interest.

I must give you another little anecdote of the hero of the nose. One day, when a party of us had sat at table till after midnight, he sallied forth alone, and "hot with the Tuscan grape." Apprehensive of the consequences, I followed him, and found him on one of the bridges over the Arno, engaged with a solitary Frenchman, with whom he was insisting upon having a boxing match. The Frenchman, with the instinctive horror of his nation of an English fist, deprecated most earnestly any such proceeding. With much difficulty I induced my friend to go away, and I received for my successful interference a shake by the hand more expressive of gratitude than I ever experienced before.

There is a society here, called the Misericordia Society, of which I have heard the following account, but do not know if it is accurate. It is composed of men of the highest rank, whose business it is, in case of accident or sudden death, to assemble at the sound of a bell, and render what assistance may be necessary. That there may be no personal ostentation, they wear black masks. I met about a dozen of them the other day, bearing a dead body through the streets. They were all dressed in black dominos, and, as it rained, in very broad slouched hats. They never spoke, and relieved one another in carrying with great dexterity and quickness. Their step struck me as unusually majestic, probably from their dress, and the solemnity of their occupation. It was a very imposing sight. I am told that sometimes the Grand Duke himself goes out and assists.

It is very, very cold here—much colder than I ever felt it in England. The air is so thin, and the wind often so strong, that it seems literally to blow through one. The men constantly wear cloaks, ordinarily hanging open, but the moment they come upon the wind, they throw them over the left shoulder, and carefully cover their mouths. The houses are contrived with reference to hot weather, and are very comfortless to English feeling at this season. After dinner we often sit in our travelling cloaks, with napkins put upon our heads like judges' wigs, which is very efficacious. The streets are kept extremely clean, not, I apprehend, so much from a love of cleanliness, as from economy of manure to keep up the very high cultivation of the surrounding country.

Florence abounds with palaces of a severe and prison-like appearance,* built for defence by her grandees in turbulent but highly interesting times—the very opposite of the peace, security, and dulness, which reign at present. Then all the faculties of the soul were called into action, and virtues and vices were both prominent. Now everything is decent in appearance through the watchfulness of the government; but the absence of all political interest necessarily reduces the moral standard to a low level—so that we may almost say here, with Hamlet,

> "What is a man,
> If his chief good, and market of his time
> Be but to sleep and feed? a beast, no more.
> Sure, he that made us with such large discourse,
> Looking before, and after, gave us not
> That capability and God-like reason
> To rust in us unus'd."

* [Howard, writing of Florence, in 1786, speaks in terms of commendation of the hospital of *San Maria Nova*, in which the wards arranged round the garden were well calculated to promote the health and spirits of the patients, especially of the convalescents. He appends a plan and elevation of part of the building.]

Florence, June 2, 1822.

We returned from Rome May 30th. The weather is unusually hot. Everything is in florid beauty. This country, which is better governed than any other part of ill-fated Italy, is cultivated every inch, and now presents one brilliant green. The corn grows in fields planted with figs, mulberries, and vines—the latter most delicately fragrant; though, in general, I do not think the flowers are quite so sweet as with us, but of brighter colours.

In coming from Rome we passed through a wild and mountainous district near Radicofani, large tracts of which were entirely covered with high broom, loaded with flowers as thickly as any branch of laburnum you ever saw. The flowers are larger, and of a more golden hue than ours, and, when waved by the wind, and heightened by a glowing Italian sky, they presented a softer richer scene than I could have conceived. The scene was too delightful. By the way, if you wish to spend winter comfortably, you cannot do better than stay in England. If you wish to enjoy spring, come to fair Italy. We think of being in Paris by September. Nothing like Paris after all for a residence abroad. You may thank your stars you have lived there.

We are obliged here to sit down always to two courses of five dishes each, besides soup. Our only resource is now and then to order one dish by way of luncheon, and to pretend to dine out. I objected at first to the mode of dinner; but the only answer I could ever get was, "It is the same price."

Foreigners, at least of the lowest order, have somewhat a propensity to attribute base motives on all occasions. Mine was always supposed to be parsimony. If you refuse to ascend a tower, or to cross a bridge, they assure you there is no danger, and beg you not to be afraid.

When at Rome, my companion made a shooting excursion of a few days to Ostia; in the meantime I was obliged to submit to the two courses, four wax lights, and two attendants—one on each side, with a plate ready, rivalling each other in zeal to change mine, often before I had half done, pushing each dish at me in its turn, and supposing, if I did not eat of it, it was from dislike. Thus they made me as great a slave as themselves.

In answer to your inquiry, the style of beauty at Prince Borghese's ball was beautiful foreheads and eyebrows, dark eyes, good teeth, and clear complexions, rather dark. The handsomest women were from Sienna. At Rome the women are good-looking; at Naples not—but give me English beauty ten times over. The party at the Countess of

Albany's (the Pretender's widow) was not so dull as I expected. She has no remains of beauty, but has a very long face, with, I think, a cast in her eyes. She does not appear to me to have been ever either beautiful or interesting, and I suspect much of what Alfieri says of her to be fiction. Her party was well managed. She sits in state, and the ladies in two or three rows round the room. The gentlemen walk about, and in the ante-room you may talk at your ease. Ices and lemonade were handed round, and there was a handsome tea-service on a table in the middle of the room, at which the company helped themselves very conveniently. She is of the German house of Stolberg, and has a pension from our Government of 1500*l.* or 2000*l.* a-year, which, I believe, is all, or nearly all she has.

The Grand Duke has just passed, as is his daily custom, on his way to the Cascine, with his two carriages and six, all thoroughly appointed. But in this country they never can avoid something shabby; for, after followed a carriage and a pair of untrimmed horses, with one dirty footman out of livery, and here they far excel the Romans and Neapolitans in approach to English propriety. I have seen the King of Naples driving with rope harness.

We stayed at the Cascine till nine o'clock—a delicious evening. Many people were there, and very respectable all. They put me in mind of England—no soldiers as at Naples. After dark the moon shone beautifully through the trees, and thousands of fire-flies sparkled under them, with the air as soft as balm. Thence we went to the fashionable café to eat ice; it was full of people inside and out, sitting on benches. But oh, how inferior to the Boulevards at Paris! On one of the bridges the people sit till late, without hats, on seats brought out for the occasion. The delights of the climate seem to suffice without any other aids.

June 3.

I wrote you a long letter yesterday, and now proceed to fill up the chasms in my travels. Between Montargis and Lyons we passed through some very fine country, especially on the Loire and the Allier. Though it was the middle of December, I have seen nothing brighter even in this bright country, at this bright season, than the two days between Cône and St. Simphorien, which Arthur Young, I found from his works at Naples, calls the finest climate in France, or perhaps in Europe. The road down the Rhone is interesting. The ruins at Nismes are very fine, and I think, generally, that the ruins in the south of France, are, with some exceptions, better worth seeing than those of Italy. There may be enumerated the beautiful triumphal arch at Orange, the amphitheatre and maison carrée at Nismes, the

mausoleum and triumphal arch at St. Remi, and last and greatest, the Pont du Gard, some miles from Nismes, which is an aqueduct consisting of three ranges of arches one upon another, over a wide bed of a river and part of a valley. It is nearly perfect, very massive, and comes upon you suddenly, in a wild and desolate country, without a visible habitation, and surrounded by rocks covered with evergreens. It struck us more than any Italian antiquity we saw, the Coliseum not excepted, nor the temples at Pæstum. It is out of the regular road, and I had never heard of it before I saw it. I did not see the ruins at Arles. The walls of Avignon are the most beautiful I have met with, and the ancient palace of the Popes is an imposing pile, now degraded into a barrack and prison.

We made a day's expedition to the fountain of Vaucluse in a vile machine without springs, over a viler road, but were recompensed. The fountain is a basin of considerable extent, of clear blue water, very deep, situated at the base of a very high overhanging rock, with one wild fig-tree shooting out just above the water. On one side stands aloft a ruined château, said to have been Petrarch's; and on the other a rugged mountain, with here and there a tree. The rocks have more of a dreary, weather-worn appearance than any I have seen. The water flows from the basin down a steepish bed of broken rocks; and conceive, in the middle of the stream, a gingerbread column painted and gilt, erected by the loyal prefect of the department to Louis XVIII.!

In parts of Dauphiny the ground is covered entirely with flint, and looks as barren as the barrenest rock; yet you see growing there almonds, peaches, olives, mulberries, figs, and walnuts. Whoever wants to have an idea of the resources of France should visit the south; it is a fine country. I think they are wrong who call it uninteresting. It is on so much larger a scale than England that the interesting parts are less conspicuous, but still they exist; and the climate heightens them considerably.

The fishermen at Marseilles came originally from Spain, and they live by themselves. They have the darkest complexions and the most expressive countenances I have seen, not excepting the Neapolitan fishermen, who, in point of beauty of limbs, excel all other men I ever met with.

Florence, June 7, 1822.

I shall now go back to our first arrival at Rome, which was on the 12th of February. As is generally observed, Rome disappoints you at first, improves as you know it, and ends in being the most interesting of places. The Campagna too, or country round it, which strikes travellers, merely passing along the high road, as the most desolate of

districts, becomes by acquaintance highly interesting—at least I found it so, by dint of walks of from two to three hours before breakfast, and of still longer rides in the evening. The best view is from the tomb of Cecilia Metella, on the side farthest from the road, where most visitants never go. You see there, from an eminence, the walls and domes of the city, the three ranges of aqueducts, stretching for miles and miles towards the mountains, with one exception, in various stages of mutilation, and partly covered with thick ivy and wild shrubs, ruined tombs, temples and fortifications, and dark and lofty pines scattered over a desolate plain, or what looks like a plain in comparison with the Apennines and the Alban mountain, which bound it. When the lights are favourable, it is a most imposing scene; I think all scenery, in which ruins are a feature, appears to the greatest advantage by a fading light.

There is another fine point of view from near Albano, looking down towards Rome, along the old Appian Way, which is a straight line of about fifteen miles, bordered on each side the whole distance with ruined tombs—some of them turned into habitations for the wretched peasantry. If Sterne was so far, I should think this view suggested to him that beautiful passage, "To die is the great debt due unto nature—tombs and monuments, which should perpetuate our memories, pay it themselves, and the proudest pyramid of them all, which wealth or science has erected, has lost its apex, and stands obtruncated in the traveller's horizon."

Along the whole of the Appian Way, which reaches considerably more than a hundred miles, the ruins of once magnificent tombs are to be seen in greater or less profusion. In a columbarium, or receptacle for the ashes of the dead, discovered near Rome whilst we were there, were found all the vases or urns, containing burnt bones, arranged as in a sort of pigeon-house, from whence the name. There are several epitaphs, but the prettiest is one from a mother to her son, who died, I think, at twenty-three. It is in the original, "Quod tu mihi facere debebas, ego tibi facio, mater pia;" which, literally translated, signifies, What you owed to do for me, I, your affectionate mother, do for you. It will bring to your mind Burke's passage on his son:—"I live in an inverted order—they, who should have been to me as posterity, are in the place of ancestors." Cicero has a passage of still nearer resemblance.

From tombs we will go to a different subject—the Carnival, in the midst of which we arrived. The scene is the Corso, the principal street in Rome, about three-quarters of a mile long, quite straight, with many handsome palaces, some churches and convents, and other public buildings, in it. Stages or platforms are erected on each side

the street, with chairs and benches upon them, and from the windows and balconies hangs in great profusion tapestry, as you have seen at fêtes at Paris. About two o'clock for the last eight days the people begin to assemble in carriages and on foot, in masks, and without, and in all sorts of characters, and they parade about, amusing themselves as well as they can till the race, which begins and ends just before dark. I saw no humour or fun, except what arose from pelting with sugar-plums and comfits. Sometimes there were very hot contests, and in places the ground looked as if there had been a violent hail-storm. It is the English, you must know, who introduced the more vigorous, and, as I think, only amusing warfare; the noble Romans heretofore having contented themselves with a sort of courteous interchange, as dull as themselves. The most tremendous conflicts used to take place between the Englishmen passing by, and a party of English ladies'-maids, posted in front of the shop of one Samuel Lowe, wine merchant. Samuel Lowe in the "eternal city!" and English ladies'-maids on the soil of Livia, Octavia, and company! What changes! But, as Gibbon somewhere prognosticates the future ascendency of the negro race, perhaps the Timbuctooians may hereafter figure in London as we now figure at Rome. We may as easily imagine that, as Julius Cæsar could have imagined the present change.

Before the race, the Corso is cleared in an instant, and some eight or ten horses without riders start, all covered with gold leaf, and such trumpery; and, indeed, in spite of Madame de Staël's high-flown description, the whole affair is too trumpery to have anything more said about it.

At night there were masquerades at one of the theatres—very dull. I do not understand the assertion that the English are less fitted for masquerades than foreigners; my experience tells me the exact reverse. At the last masquerade the grandees of Rome attend, dressed up. The ladies, principally in scarlet, looked superb in the boxes.

The last day of the Carnival is the most spirited; and as soon as it is dark, commences its funeral, previous to the sombre season of Lent. The funeral is ideal; but all the people in the street, and at the windows, hold one or more lighted tapers in their hands; some have a great many bundled together. It happened to be a very favourable night—dark, still, and clear, and from the purity of the atmosphere, the lights are much more brilliant than with us. The scene was highly curious. Even the people, driving about in their carriages, hold lights. The joke is to put out your neighbour's lights, and keep in your own; but it lasted sadly too long, and it was impossible to get away without being covered with wax, as many were. At length

darkness resumed her reign, and so ended the silly delight of the degenerate conquerors of the world.

June 12th.

The country is beginning to lose its youthful beauty. We find Florence so very pleasant now, that we have kept prolonging our stay. The hot weather suits me amazingly, and what with baths, ices, riding in the shade, temperance, and some pleasant people, I have passed the last ten days paradisiacally; but those who do not know how to manage themselves suffer much. Our thermometer is generally nearly eighty all night, in a north room to the river.

To return to where I left off. During Lent there are no amusements at Rome, public or private; but it is the best time for seeing the place. At the end of Lent comes Holy Week, in the ceremonies of which I took no interest. The music is fine; but I saw none of the effects said to be produced by it, such as tears, &c.

The illumination of the exterior of the dome of St. Peter's, which is effected almost instantaneously, is very striking, and the fireworks are more magnificent than any I ever saw, but I was dreadfully tired of the whole business. The simplicity of our service, performed every Sunday in three small rooms in a private house to a congregation of remarkable propriety of appearance and behaviour, was much more to my taste than any of the ceremonies in St. Peter's.

There are fewer unpleasant objects or circumstances at Florence than in any city I have been in, the towns in England not excepted. Naples is just the reverse, but very fascinating at first. I prefer Rome to both, on account of its interest.

If I might have my choice of one statue, it should be the Venus, whose attraction ever heightens by contemplation. Of all the paintings I have seen, I should prefer to possess Raphael's Madonna della Seggiola in the Grand Duke's palace. It is a representation of the Virgin: and the painter has made her of that merit, which is above all modes and fashions, and which would equally become a palace or a cottage.

Existence here, under the most favourable circumstances, is certainly much superior to existence with us. The climate throws a charm round everything which is quite indescribable. I can only give you some idea of the brilliancy of the atmosphere, by saying that it is more different from ours than the light from wax is from that from tallow. The sensations, too, approach much nearer to something exquisite; or, as Moore expresses it,—

> "And simply to feel that we breathe, that we live,
> Is worth the best joys life elsewhere can give."

Virgil attributes the same superiority of atmosphere to Elysium that Italy seems to me to have over England; and a charm, indeed, it is, that almost compensates for the many advantages, which, in other respects, we enjoy.

I have been reading for the second time Madame de Staël's "Corinne," and generally in the places described. With a considerable quantity of nonsense, I think it excessively clever. The descriptions are often very just, and made me perceive beauties I should otherwise have missed; but they are occasionally too poetical. I perfectly agree with her that the scenery in a warm climate in the middle of the day conveys an idea of tranquillity, quite inconceivable to those who have not witnessed it.

I never mentioned, that when at Naples, we went to see some royal races, about fifteen miles in the country. They were in imitation of English races, but they reminded me much more of Astley's than of Newmarket. The whole court was present, and the king acted as steward—not in a very dignified manner. He started the horses, and abused the jockeys abundantly. The most interesting sight was the peasantry, assembled for thirty miles round, regaling themselves in groups in a forest in their various very picturesque costumes. They seemed to enjoy themselves exceedingly, and several parties pressed us much to partake of their cheer.

By far the best view of the bay of Naples, and the most beautiful view I ever saw, is from a stone bench in the garden of the convent at Camaldoli, a few miles from the city. At a little distance from the convent there is a notice on a post, forbidding females to pass further, as contrary to the rules of the order; but I believe the most enterprising of the English ladies, in spite of this prohibition, and of the difficulties of the road, do occasionally contrive to insinuate themselves into the garden.

The environs of Naples are truly delicious, especially in spring, which is by much the most favourable season for seeing Italian scenery, south of Florence. We visited Tivoli both in spring and summer, and the difference in point of beauty was immense, and still greater at Adrian's Villa, near it. The ruins of the villa resemble those of a town more than of a country seat. They contain a theatre, baths, place for the representation of sea-fights, and everything that can be thought of in the way of luxury and delight. The first time we were there, the fruit trees and shrubs were loaded with white and peach-coloured flowers, which, contrasted with the many kinds of magnificent evergreens and the various masses of ruins, presented a strikingly beautiful appearance; but in summer we found a lamentable change. The flowers were gone, and with them the contrast, and the

full foliage of the vines and figs obscured the ruins so as very much to diminish their effect.

Bologna, June 24th.

We quitted Florence on the 21st, and travelled all night on account of the heat. Sunrise from the top of the Apennines is glorious.

We prolonged our stay at Florence to be present at a ball given at a villa about a mile from the city. I had a great desire to see a fête at an Italian villa at the best season of the year, for the better understanding of "Romeo and Juliet." A terrace at the back of the house was illuminated, and looked down upon a garden planted with orange trees, with a fountain in the middle, and surrounded, as Juliet's garden was, with a wall "high and hard to climb." It was a beautiful starlight night, the sky like blue velvet bespangled with gold. There was no moon, but the lamps served to "tip with silver all the fruit tree tops." The air was as soft as balm, and the scene as completely Julietical as possible. I would not have missed it for a great deal.

I have been reading all Shakspeare's plays the scenes of which are laid in Italy; and it is surprising how very faithful they are to the manners and customs, and how many allusions are to be found in them to the objects around. The other day I observed in Florence a stuffed alligator suspended from the ceiling of an apothecary's shop. Like Juliet's nurse, both men and women still carry large green fans, to the exclusion of parasols; and nightingales and pomegranates continually reminded me of "nightly she sings on yon pomegranate tree."

The paintings in the gallery here are of the first merit, but unfortunately I have no appetite to enjoy them. I have seen so much of the fine arts, that for the present I am absolutely satiated. We went yesterday to see the "Maid and the Magpie" acted in the open air. The intense attention and variety of strong expression of countenance of the lower orders occupied me so much, that I scarcely saw anything of the play. Performances in the open air are common at this season. I like Bologna much, and the people appear very superior to any I have seen in the Pope's states.

Salzburg, July 1st.

For four days we have been travelling through the Tyrol. It is beautiful and interesting. It has all the features of Swiss scenery, but cultivation is richer and more extended, and there is less of boldness. Mountains covered with larch, and now and then with snow, torrents, bright cornfields, the greenest meadows, neat villages of white houses, pretty churches, detached comfortable-looking cottages, no appearance of poverty or of accumulation of wealth, and a very

picturesque peasantry, make up the country as far as I have seen it. I do not wonder at the Tyrolese being patriotic.

We have been gradually leaving everything Italian, and are now completely in Germany. What a change in the people, country, and climate! At Bologna, the thermometer was as high as it could rise—above 118—here it is 65.

The difference between the scenery we have last seen, and that of Italy, is the same as that between a picture by an old master, and one wet from the painter's brush. Italy and the Tyrol, methinks, might be personified by two persons, one dressed for a ball, and the other for the chase; the first full of grace and brilliancy, the other of freshness and strength. The Tyrol exhibits the dewy freshness of morning; Italy, even in her loveliest scenes, has something of aridity appearing through. But, Italy! Italy for me! I do not know what I would take not to have seen it.

Vienna, August 4th, 1822.

We arrived here on the 6th of July, and leave it to-morrow. At Salzburg we visited the famous salt mines, which are said to have been first worked by the Romans, and we were told it would take eight days' good walking to explore them thoroughly. The dress we put on consisted of a white jacket and trousers, the latter very wide for the purpose of containing the skirts of the coat, a cap, a stiff leather glove for the right hand, and a leather apron, like a cobbler's, tied on behind; and ladies, many of whom visit the mines, of necessity adopt this inconvenient and unbecoming costume; but place and occasion reconcile even the most fastidious to anything. The entrance is at the side of a hill along a level passage, at the end of which is the first descent, which is a very steep inclined plane of considerable length. The guide seats himself first upon two parallel rounded rafters; then one of the party, with his left hand upon the guide's shoulder, and so on, till all are placed, on which the guide launches himself, and the whole train descends with great velocity, and very pleasantly—each person sitting upon his leather apron, and with his glove-hand holding a rope as a sort of banister. At the end of the descent is another level, and so on for six or seven descents, till at length we arrived at a lake about a hundred yards long and thirty wide, into which the salt rock, or rather clay, is thrown, and when the water is saturated, it is passed through wooden conduits into the village, and there filters through long ranges of billets of wood, which collect the salt. For visitors the lake is illuminated, and there is a boat upon it, in which those who wish may make a voyage, very much like that which "poets write of," with old Charon. There are thirty-two of these lakes. We

made our exit by a boarded passage, a mile in length, upon a little carriage drawn by men, and at the end is a cottage where we left our dresses, and finished one of the most amusing expeditions I ever made.

We embarked on the Danube at Linz with our carriage at midday of July 5th. The voyage was pleasant; but the Danube, as far as we saw, is not to be compared with the Rhine for beauty of scenery; in size it is much superior. We saw some ruins, but none of interest; the towns presented nothing remarkable; there were some magnificent-looking convents. Now and then the scenery was good, but in general the country is flat and unvaried. We slept at a poor little inn, and landed the next afternoon. I believe the Danube above Linz is more interesting.

We have stayed at this place longer than we intended; not that there is much to see, but the lounging life we lead with a very agreeable little society of our countrymen, we find a wholesome change, and it gives us time to digest what we have seen, which I find highly necessary, for one thing had begun to drive out another for some time past.

Most of our party play at tennis, and we ride, dine, and sup together every day. I like the way of living here very much; we dine about three o'clock, and on few dishes, get excellent beefsteaks and genuine beer, and very pleasant wine, principally from Hungary, and have enjoyable little suppers—excellent pickled trout, and crayfish as large as little lobsters. The English are very popular here, and we find every disposition to court us. For three Saturdays our party have gone to Baden, remaining till Monday. It is an extremely neat little town, fifteen miles off, with hot sulphureous springs. The Emperor and the whole imperial family are there, living and walking about in the most simple style; they are very popular. On Sundays they are all to be seen on the promenade, in a valley something in the style of the scenery at Matlock. The concourse is large, and the costumes various, both European and Oriental. Young Napoleon walks with the emperor, and singular enough, the valley is called St. Helena.

There is nothing remarkable about Vienna. The city within the walls does not contain more than 80,000 inhabitants. All the houses have a good appearance; there are no beggars, nor indeed any nuisance whatever, that I have seen. The suburbs contain about 17,000 inhabitants. The people of all ranks seem much given to enjoy themselves in a peaceable and moderate way, and they appear to have the means at command. For public and private gardens, promenades, and places of recreation, they are particularly well off. On Sundays the Prater, which is the Hyde Park of Vienna, but much

larger, is like a fair, and the villages in the neighbourhood seem so many places of entertainment.

The government is a paternal despotism, the policy of which is to keep the people in good humour, and to prevent them from thinking. The police superintend everything, even as to which side of a bridge you are to walk upon, and no one is allowed to bathe in an immense public bath there is, and still less in the Danube, until he has proved his ability to swim—a rope being tied round his body, and a policeman holding one end of it. I have seen him with my own eyes. The Austrian system I take to be nearly perfect in its kind; but it is not a kind to my freeborn English taste, and though, under the circumstances, I have passed a most agreeable month here, I have no wish to repeat my visit.

In my only remaining letters, one from Munich, the other from Paris, I find nothing, I think, worthy of extraction; I hope my readers will not have thought the same of the preceding letters.

ITALY.

WRITTEN AT VIENNA IN 1822.

"Fair Italy!
Thou art the garden of the world, the home
Of all art yields, and nature can decree."—LORD BYRON.

I have seen Italy, from Pæstum to Roveredo, during the most brilliant season of a very brilliant year. I have seen it and enjoyed it, by sunlight and by moonlight, each hour in the twenty-four, from the dawn of spring to the ripeness of autumn. I have watched the sun set upon "the relics of almighty Rome," and rise upon the bays of Naples and Mola di Gaeta. Floating in a gondola, with the setting sun behind me, I have seen the full moon illuminating the towers of Venice, and I have wandered in the Coliseum by her light; I have seen her at Florence shining through the most brilliant foliage, with myriads of fire-flies glittering beneath. I have watched her silvery light streaming over the waves in the bay of Naples, before purpled by the setting sun.

I have seen vegetation bud and come to maturity, unchecked by frost or blight, and uniting the freshness of spring with the fulness of summer. I have inhaled the powerful odour of the orange-flower and the delicate fragrance of the vine, listening to the song of the nightingale on a lovely evening by the bay of Naples. I have seen the vast remains of Adrian's villa, rising in broken masses from amidst the ilex, the pine, the cypress, and the olive, mingled with the blossoms of the peach, the cherry, and the most beautiful shrubs—all canopied by a

deep and cloudless azure—crumbling arches, amid sombre evergreens and the gayest garlands of crimson and white—such a contrast and such a harmony!

I have ridden a hundred and fifty miles in vigorous health, between Nice and Genoa, with the smooth and beauteous Mediterranean on my right, and the snow-covered, rugged Alps on my left—through olive and lemon groves, with towns and villages, convents, bridges, rocks, and dells, all romantically blended together. I have sailed on the magnificent gulf of Genoa, and the enchanting bays of Naples, Mola di Gaeta, and Baiæ. I have seen the lovely gulfs of Villa Franca and La Spezia, and the falls of Terni and Tivoli.

I have breathed the gales of spring on the banks of the Tiber, and in the delicious environs of Naples. I have traversed the Lago Maggiore and the Lake of Como, and have bathed in the soft and limpid waters of the Lago di Garda. I have gathered the most delicious fruits fresh from the tree, and have passed during the vintage through loaded vines, hanging on trellises or in festoons, for miles and miles. I have exercised during the freshness of morning, enjoyed at my ease the tranquil glow of the midday sun, and sat uncovered at midnight beneath the starry azure—feeling simple existence delicious enjoyment.

I have visited St. Peter's again and again; I have seen it illuminated in the interior and on the exterior. I have seen the Apollo and the Laocoon by torchlight, and have passed hours before the Venus de' Medici and the masterpieces of Raphael.

I have stood upon the Alban Hill, and looked along the Appian Way, a ruin itself, bordered on each side for fifteen miles with ruined tombs. I have wandered many an evening, on foot and on horseback, over the inspiring solitudes of the Campagna di Roma.

* * * "Fair Italy!
* * * * *
Even in thy desert, what is like to thee?
Thy very weeds are beautiful, thy waste
More rich than other climes' fertility;
Thy wreck a glory, and thy ruin grac'd
With an immaculate charm, which cannot be defac'd!"

I have visited the ruins of Pæstum, of Tusculum, and of Pompeii. I have leaned over the crater of Vesuvius in darkness, listening to the fiery storm below. I have explored the stupendous remains of the Palace of the Cæsars, and of the Baths of Titus and Caracalla. I have viewed from Cecilia Metella's tomb the three ranges of aqueducts magnificently stretching across the plain, and once connecting the walls of the "Eternal City" with the distant mountains—now stand-

ing in solitary grandeur, broken, and overgrown with ivy and wild flowers. I have descended into the tombs of the ancient Romans, visited the dungeons of their captives, and followed the track of their triumphs. I have wandered over the scenes which Virgil has sung, stood where Cicero harangued, and walked on the very road which Horace loved to frequent.

MOUNT VESUVIUS.

To have travelled has many advantages, and one is that annoyances and dangers, in recollection, become sources of pleasure;—add to which, in the language of Scripture, "the affliction is but for a moment," whilst the recollection endures for years. I advise those who are beginning their travels to bear this in mind.

A few days after the eruption of Vesuvius, in February, 1822, I ascended the mountain, in company with a friend, and attended by Salvatore, the well-known chief guide. It was night before we arrived at the crater, which at that time, we were told, was near three-quarters of a mile in circumference. We lay down looking over the edge of this vast cauldron, whilst the lava sometimes boiled up as if it would overwhelm us, roaring like a stormy pent-up sea, and presenting the fiery appearance of molten iron obscured by smoke; then it would sink down in silence, and leave us in total darkness. We forgot ourselves in the awfulness of the scene, till Salvatore reminded us that it was scarcely safe to remain. We had not left the place above two minutes, before we heard a crash. Salvatore went back to see whence it proceeded, and on his return informed us the very spot where we had been lying was precipitated into the crater. I thought he said so to enhance the interest of the expedition. When we arrived at the beginning of the descent, he shouted as loud as he could, by way of signal, to a boy whom he had stationed at the foot of the cone, with orders to hold up a torch for us to steer by. No torch appeared, and, fearing the boy had perished, we proceeded in darkness, except where lighted by the very brilliant colours of the yet burning lava. Salvatore, notwithstanding his experience, missed his way, and became somewhat confused. He knew we were in danger of falling into hollow places, crusted over. We got knee-deep into hot ashes, which burnt off a pair of very thick hose drawn over my feet and legs for their protection. A sulphurous smoke became so suffocating that we must have sunk under its effects, had not Salvatore suggested the expedient of breathing through two or three folds of our silk handkerchiefs, which to our surprise afforded instant and almost complete relief. At length, after repeated shoutings, the torch was raised; and

when we reached the boy, we found he had been engaged in roasting eggs for us on the lava, instead of listening for the signal. After sleeping at the Hermitage, a sort of inn upon the mountain, we re-ascended in the morning to see the sun rise; and we were then made fully sensible how narrowly we had escaped destruction, for the part where we had been lying had wholly disappeared.

Later in the spring I made two other ascents—the first with a party of thirty-five, including ladies and gentlemen, servants, and guides. Whilst we were resting on the summit of the mountain, one of the gentlemen proposed, in a sort of joke, to Salvatore, to descend into the crater, then in a state of repose. Salvatore took him at his word, and they immediately set off, followed by degrees by every male present, more after the manner of sheep than of rational beings. We arrived rapidly at the bottom, which was at a considerable depth. It was full of small fissures, through which issued short pale flames, and we were obliged to keep changing our places, on account of the heat through our shoes. The stooping position necessary in re-ascending the steep sides exposed us to a sulphurous vapour, which was extremely annoying, and my hurry to escape made me neglect the expedient of the handkerchief. On mustering at the top, we found that one of the servants was missing, but before we could take steps for his safety, he crawled out nearly suffocated. It was a rash adventure, undertaken too precipitately to guard against danger, had there been any, of which we were ignorant.

My last expedition afforded nothing worthy of note except a scene at Salvatore's, where I arrived by night with a party of ladies, on their way to sleep at the Hermitage, preparatory to an ascent the next morning. Salvatore's house stands in a courtyard, and has the stairs on the outside. As our arrival was expected, the court was soon completely filled with asses and mules, each under the conduct of a boy carrying a torch. Salvatore posted himself at the foot of the stairs, with his jacket slung like a military pelisse, and a truncheon in his hand. The steps above him were occupied by blooming English girls, waiting their turns to be seated on such animals as he should select. The eagerness of the boys for preference—Salvatore's vehement but graceful action as he poured forth his oaths and brandished his truncheon—the passiveness of the ladies—the contrast between their complexions and the swarthy ones of the Italians, a contrast much heightened by the waving torches, the incessant vociferation, and the triumph of each successful candidate as he navigated his fair charge through yielding rivals—formed altogether a scene of such striking effect, that the lapse of thirteen years has effaced from my recollection nothing of its freshness.

[The following short extract from a letter written at Rome by John Howard in 1770, three years before he was appointed Sheriff of Bedford, will not be out of place here. He is addressing Lady Mary Whitbread:—

"I ascended Mount Vesuvius; and when I was up three parts of the hill, the earth was, by my thermometer, somewhat warmer than the atmosphere. I then took the temperature every five minutes, till I got to the top. The heat was continually increasing. After I had stood the smoke a quarter of an hour, I breathed freely; so with three men I descended as far as they would go with me, when the earth or brimstone was so heated that, in frequent experiments, it raised my thermometer to 240°, which is near 30° hotter than boiling water, and in some places it fired some paper I put in. As these experiments have never before been made, I thought the account of them might afford your ladyship some entertainment." Howard transmitted an account of these experiments to the Royal Society, and this short paper with two others, containing observations on the winter temperature at Cardington, and the heat of the Bath waters, show that the future philanthropist had in him the making of a philosopher.]

THE ALBUNEAN LAKE.

To the left of the road from Rome to Tivoli, and nearer the latter, lies the Albunean Lake, insignificant as to extent, but interesting from its classical associations. The water resembles warm soapsuds, and sends forth a most noisome sulphureous vapour. Islets of weeds sometimes detach themselves from the sides, and are said to present a remarkable appearance as they are moved about on the constant bubbling surface. Virgil describes the lake as shaded by a sacred grove, and as having a communication with the infernal regions. This fiction must have been readily believed in the days of heathen poetry; for Sir William Gell, in his Topography of Rome and its vicinity, observes, "The rocky crust of the margin probably covers an unfathomable abyss, for a stone thrown into the lake occasions in its descent so violent a discharge of carbonic acid gas, and for so long a time, as to give the idea of an immense depth of water." He adds, "the sulphureous smell is so strong, that when the wind assists, it has sometimes been perceived in the highest parts of Rome"—a distance, I should think, of from ten to fifteen miles. The grove mentioned by Virgil is now reduced to a few stunted trees, standing on a sterile plain covered with unsightly weeds. The scene is strikingly desolate and disagreeable.

In the spring of 1822 I visited it in company with two friends. We

walked round the lake, leaving our horses in charge of a courier. As we were on the point of remounting, one of the party called our attention to something emerging from the weeds on the opposite side. For a moment he supposed it to be one of the floating islets, of which he had just been speaking, and we paused to observe it. We were, however, soon convinced that it was a living being: but as we could literally see nothing but a pair of distended nostrils moving through the water, and two large eyes at a distance behind them, we were utterly at a loss to conjecture to what they could by possibility belong. The monster was evidently making towards us, and when about the middle of the lake it raised two very long, dark, shaggy ears, as if by way of attracting our attention, and then suddenly let them sink. The horses started, and we stood in silent amaze. Again the ears were raised, and again let fall. I do not know how I looked, but throwing a glance on one of my companions, who was of a florid complexion, I saw he had become as pale as death; and I told him afterwards, I was sure that, for the moment, he was not far from believing in the poet's account. At length we discovered the object of our wonder to be a young ass, nearly black, which, having fallen into the lake, and being unable to get out, was on the point of perishing. In its extremity it had the sense to make towards us for assistance, but in such an exhausted state as only just to be able to keep its nostrils and eyes above the water as it slowly swam, and we had great difficulty in helping it to land.

Certainly I never experienced anything like so much perplexity as from this extraordinary combination of such an incident with such a scene, and had the animal sunk before we had ascertained what it was, regard for my credit would have prevented me from ever mentioning the occurrence.

CROSSING THE ALPS MATHEMATICALLY.

The following anecdote is founded on fact, and the local description is strictly accurate.

Everybody has seen or heard of Bonaparte's road over the Simplon. As some English travellers were ascending it on their way into Italy, two young men of the party walked on considerably before the rest. Soon after they had passed the post-house on the summit, one of them, who had lately taken a wrangler's degree at Cambridge, and was now first launched into the world, observing the barrier of mountains in front, proposed to make a short cut along a cow-track which presented itself on the left. His less speculative companion thought it would be better to keep the road, and an argument ensuing—

"It is really quite astonishing," exclaimed the mathematician with warmth; "that people cannot reason. Don't I pursue with my eye an unbroken chain of mountains there, covered with eternal snow? It is clear the road cannot continue in its present direction—it must curve round here. This track is evidently the chord of the arc, and where cows can go, I can go. The case is as clear as anything in Euclid—it does not admit of a doubt."

"But why, then," said the other, "did not Bonaparte cause the road to be made here?"

"Because he was a fool," replied the wrangler. So saying, he struck into the path, and his friend, after a moment's hesitation, followed him.

"I knew I must be right," said the Cantab, chattering away most authoritatively, till the cow-track at length diminishing into a sheep-track, he became rather less loquacious; and the sheep-track also terminating soon after amongst some ominous unevennesses, dead silence and a halt ensued.

"Oh!" exclaimed the wrangler again, "we have only to go on subtending the arc;" and so they did, till they suddenly arrived at the edge of a precipice at least 500 feet perpendicularly deep, from which awful position they descried in the distance the road magnificently descending before them towards the village of the Simplon.

"I wish," said the prudent traveller, "you had not been so extremely clever in proving this to be the nearest way, which proves itself to be no way at all. I will back Keller* against Euclid for a Swiss guide."

"I was right, however," said the wrangler, "about the direction; you may now see where the road winds under the mountain there, and but for this precipice we should just have cut off the curve, as I said."

"A very near thing, truly!" replied the other; "but come, I shall take the command now." So saying, he turned to the right, and keeping along the brink of the precipice, was followed by the disconcerted wrangler till they arrived at a practicable descent over broken masses of rock, interspersed with stunted shrubs and alpine plants. The sun was already far in the west—the way was most difficult—the distance to the road was uncertain—the carriages would most probably have passed; the anxiety of the two increased to a degree, that those who have not been in a similar situation, or seen such tremendous scenery, can have little idea of. Here they slid down a steep descent of loose sharp stones—there they scrambled up a rugged breastwork—then they skipped from fragment to fragment—till at last the wrangler, setting

* The author of the well-known travelling map.

his foot amongst some plants which concealed a cleft, sank up to the knee; and in his haste to withdraw his leg, snapped the small bone of it. His companion, though slow in getting into difficulties, was ever prompt in getting out; and being strong and stout-hearted, he quickly mounted his friend upon his back, and, with extreme labour and scarcely less danger, succeeded in carrying him into the road. Here he deposited his burden to rest; and as they sat in painful meditation, the shades of night were fast veiling the sublimities of nature—no sound was heard, nor was there any sign of living being. They had, however, only just resumed their harassing march, when they were cheered by the rolling of wheels behind them, and their own carriage, which had most fortunately been detained by an accident, rapidly descending the hill, put an end to their anxiety, and soon conveyed them to the inn, where they found the rest of their party assembled, and everything prepared for their reception for the night. The next morning the mathematician was carefully conveyed towards Milan: and there, during a vexatious confinement, he had ample leisure to reflect on the danger of ingenuity, when unaccompanied by experience. He is not the only one, whose theorizing has brought himself and others to the brink of a precipice.

IV. THE ART OF LISTENING.

When Falstaff is accused by the Lord Chief Justice of being deaf, he answers, "Rather, an't please you, it is the disease of not listening, the malady of not marking, that I am troubled withal." The same disease or malady continues to be very troublesome to the present day; and those who are afflicted with it, may be instantly known by the interrogative "umph?" with which they notice whatever is said to them. This habit does not arise from any defect in the faculties, but from carelessness in the use of them. It is as great an impediment to the current of conversation as deafness, and without its excuse. Some people are so careless that they receive no other impression from a first utterance than to get their attention ready for a second. Others hear, but do not mark, as is evident from this circumstance, that they will generally reply after waiting for a repetition, though no repetition takes place. The inconvenience in both cases is the same.

Attention to what is said to us, or in our presence, is not only a very agreeable quality, but it is indicative of a well-regulated mind, of a mind at ease, above the cares and vanities of the world, free from

pride, conceit and selfishness, and without fear or reproach. Those who are a prey to "low-thoughted care," or are hunting after the vanities of life, have their minds ever wandering from what is present. Pride cannot condescend to listen, except to its superiors; conceit does not think it worth while; and selfishness is too much taken up with its own concerns. Fear, by its very nature, is destructive of presence of mind, and self-reproach turns inward at every turn. Attention to whatever is said is sometimes the consequence of obsequiousness, or of a courtier-like disposition: but that species is easily distinguishable from the unaffected attention which is the result of composure and kindness.

Promptness of reply is a sign of honesty and open-heartedness, as slowness is often indicative of habitual cunning, or a desire to take undue advantage. Nations and individuals, who are remarkable for their talent at reply, usually adopt some expedient to gain time, deliberation being a great auxiliary both to wit and wisdom, and, when well managed, heightening the effect of both in no small degree. A genuine Irishman usually repeats what is said to him before he utters his humorous answer. A Frenchman takes or offers a pinch of snuff, as a prelude to his neat or courteous reply; but in the art of snuff-taking as a powerful aid in conversation, from the tapping the box to the application of the snuff, no man that I ever saw, exhibited so much grace as Horne Tooke. The oracle fixes his eyes upon those he is answering, the smoker takes two or three whiffs, the boon companion empties his glass, and the lady plays with her fan, before they severally utter what wit, or wisdom, or discretion dictates. Then the unwilling witness has recourse to a short cough, or to the Irishman's expedient of repeating the question, and the diffident Englishman precedes his answer with an unmeaning laugh. Mere slowness in reply is always dull or suspicious. Promptness is the best every-day quality; and deliberation, accompanied by suitable action, the most effective on particular occasions. It agreeably attracts the attention, and generally rewards it. It has something of the effect which Milton describes in an orator, who

> "Stands in himself collected, while each part,
> Motion, each act wins audience ere the tongue."

The manner of answering usually affords greater insight into character, than the answer itself. Decision, straight-forwardness, diffidence, cunning, and almost every other quality, are more or less discernible in the manner, as is also the particular feeling at any given time. There is one class of listeners, who cut off everything that is said to them by answering before they have half

heard, and of course for the most part very erroneously. They are the most unsatisfactory of all, and the less one has to do with them the better.

As the season is approaching, when

"Coughing drowns the parson's saw,"

it is an appropriate time to say something on the art of listening in public, the neglect of which is a great public annoyance. People sometimes seem to go to church for the express purpose of preventing anything being heard but their own unrestrained coughing, and use of their handkerchiefs. It is impossible that they themselves can attend, and it is equally impossible that others should hear; for which reasons it would be much better on every account, that, pending their indisposition, they should confine themselves to private devotion. Appearance in public, under such circumstances, I cannot help considering a great indecorum, and as indicative of the total want of consideration for others. It should be remembered, too, that sitting in a warmed building, after being exposed to the cold air, is almost sure to produce that tickling in the throat, which it is always painful, and often impossible, to overcome. At the same time, a great deal might be done in the way of control and moderation, and especially at particular moments; for it is observable that during the prevalence of colds, there is generally a most determined combination of noises when attention is particularly desirable, as during the giving out of the text. The preceding silence is followed, as people settle themselves for the sermon, by a perverse outbreak, which for some time prevents a syllable from being heard. It strongly illustrates what the late Lord Ellenborough, in his peculiar phraseology observed on a similar exhibition in his own court: "Some slight interruption one might tolerate, but there seems to be an *industry* of coughing."

Though coughing is an annoyance which is experienced at certain seasons in all public places, it is nowhere so unrestrainedly given way to as in places of worship; the reason being, I suppose, that there is no fear of any marks of disapprobation, which it would assuredly meet with, if indulged in to an equal extent anywhere else. But this should be the strongest reason for imposing self-control with those who have a proper sense of decorum. On rare occasions it is indeed noticed from the pulpit, and I think it would be well if, when colds are prevalent, a recommendation were now and then given, that the severely afflicted should remain at home, and that others should be as much on their guard as possible against causing any avoidable interruption. In other respects there is no cause of complaint in places of worship, except that some people have a habit of coming in

with rather more bustle than is necessary. In other public assemblies where the object is to listen, there are minor causes of annoyance, such as individuals talking together, either because they themselves cannot hear, or do not care to hear, or from a love of display. Then there is coming in and going out unseasonably, and not quietly, all which is inconsiderate and ill-bred, and deserving of the reprobation it often meets with. Thoughtlessly or wilfully to disturb a public assembly, is a sure sign of folly, want of breeding, or selfishness.

[This would have been a suitable opportunity of taking note of a strange propensity which foolish and thoughtless people have to occupy gangways and passages in public buildings, and especially in churches when the regular congregation have the misfortune to "sit under" a popular preacher. Some gentleman with broad shoulders, or lady with superfluous attire, instead of standing modestly aside to allow those to pass who have purchased a right of access and quiet accommodation, will stand boldly forward, with an odd air of self-assertion, and make way for the regular congregation with a mixture of reluctance and resentment which harmonizes ill with the place and the occasion.

A like want of consideration is often shown by little groups of people who assemble on the door-steps of crowded buildings, or in the very centre of the pavement; and there are students at places of education so wanting in consideration and respect for others, as to compel their teachers to force a way through their ranks, and ladies to submit both to obstruction and inspection. In these and all similar matters, there is great room for amendment in England. Our independence too often degenerates into rude obstructiveness.]

PART III.

POLITICS AND FINANCE.

I. *PRINCIPLES OF GOVERNMENT.*
II. *LIFE OF NUMA.*
III. *PAROCHIAL GOVERNMENT.*
IV. *REFORM.*
V. *LIBERTY, &c. &c.*

I. PRINCIPLES OF GOVERNMENT.

By the Democratic principle, I mean the principle of popular government fitly organized.

By the Ochlocratic principle, I mean the principle of mob-government, or government by too large masses.

By the Oligarchic principle, I mean the principle of exclusive government, or government by too few.

The Democratic principle is the fundamental principle of English government, and upon its effective operation depend the purity and vigour of the body politic. This principle has a tendency in two different directions, and constant watchfulness and skill are required to preserve it in its full force. Unless its application is varied as population increases, it becomes in practice either oligarchical or ochlocratical; oligarchical, for instance, in the ancient corporations of thriving towns, and ochlocratical in increasing parishes with open vestries.

The Oligarchic principle tends to make those who attain power, tenacious, arbitrary, and corrupt; those who wish for it, discontented and envious, and the rest fatally indifferent. Hence our long-standing and fierce party struggles on questions of reform—hence the ochlocratic principle so slowly called into action, and hence the headlong consequences; all of which evils would have been entirely prevented, had the democratic principle been duly kept, or put in operation.

Ochlocracy (which is derived from two Greek words signifying mob-

government) is the most inquisitorial, dictatorial, and disgusting of all governments, and its tendency is to despotism as a more tolerable form of tyranny. It is an unwieldy monster, more potent in the tail than in the head, and is hardly stimulated to action but by the garbage or trash thrown to it by the base or the weak for their own base or weak purposes.

Notwithstanding almost all our institutions have from time to time been neglected, or unskilfully reformed, yet the original democratic principle has still been there; and it is that principle, however weakened or obscured, which has preserved our constitution as a blessing to ourselves and an example to others, through barbarous ages, through the most violent political and religious storms, amidst the desolation of civil wars, and under the weakest and most arbitrary of our monarchs. This consideration should excite in us the most jealous care of a principle to which we owe so much, and through which alone we and posterity can derive all the benefits of increasing civilization. Such care is the more necessary, as a foreign principle, called the principle of centralization, is creeping in amongst us; a principle chiefly cried up by men who are totally ignorant of the efficacy of the democratic principle—men who, with strange inconsistency, are perpetually calling out for popular enlightenment, whilst they are striving with all their might to take away popular power, except, indeed, so far as it may be made available for party purposes—men who contemptuously turn from the practical wisdom of their own free and noble institutions to the theories and devices of novices in liberty, or proficients in despotism; as if France and Prussia were fit examples for the imitation of Britain.

There are two vices inherent in the centralization principle, which are quite sufficient to render it odious to all true Englishmen. In the first place, it must necessarily create a tribe of subordinate traders in government, who, with whatever English feelings they might set out, must, from the nature of things, they or their successors, become arbitrary, vexatious, and selfish. In the second place, as it would deprive the citizens of the invigorating moral exercise of managing their common affairs, it would soon justly expose them to the reproach of that Roman emperor, who to certain Grecian deputies, claiming for their country a restoration of political privileges, made this bitter answer, "The Greeks have forgotten how to be free." Freedom, like health, can only be preserved by exercise, and that exercise becomes more necessary as a nation becomes more rich. The inevitable tendency of the centralization principle, like the ochlocratic, though more insidiously, is to despotism. The first is the favourite of those who call themselves Liberals, and the last of the Radicals.

The democratic principle has the most stability, and is the only one under which perfect freedom can exist. The oligarchic, which is the Tory principle, is more stable than the ochlocratic, and is less unfavourable to liberty. The democratic is the real conservative principle, and the ochlocratic the real destructive. The democratic principle works the best men to the top—the oligarchic the most selfish—the ochlocratic the most profligate and pretending, whilst it throws into utter obscurity the honest and the wise. The democratic principle tends to make manners frank, noble, and disciplined; the oligarchic makes them artificial and insipid, and the ochlocratic brutal. The three principles exhibit all their characteristics in a greater or less degree wherever they operate, from a parish vestry to the House of Commons, and in every class of society.

The aristocratic principle having no real existence in this country, except in the hereditary branch of the legislature, and having nothing to do with executive and subordinate government, it does not come within my purpose to notice it.

I shall hereafter take occasion to enter into a full exposition of the details of democratic government as applicable to parishes, towns, and counties; thence endeavouring to arrive at the true principles of representation, which are certainly not discoverable in our present semi-ochlocratic state, or state of transition only, let us hope, from oligarchical predominance. I have said that the oligarchic is the Tory principle; and, I may add, the Whig also, except when it is made to give way to the ochlocratic for the sake of getting or retaining power.

Would that we might but see some statesmen shake off the shackles of party "like dew-drops from the lion's mane," and despising the craft of government, patriotically stand forth the champions of democracy in its proper sense of popular or self-government fitly organized! Then should we see faction wither and die, and in its place, public spirit and public purity raise England to the highest pitch of national greatness.

Reader, think of these things—divest yourself of prejudice, and apply what I have said to present circumstances. I will presently give you a captivating example from ancient history of the true spirit of government. (See Life of Numa, p. 138.)

The art of government is the most difficult, the noblest, and the most important of all arts, and it is the most inefficiently practised and the least understood. Well might the chancellor of Sweden say to his son, "You know not with how little wisdom the world is governed!"

II. LIFE OF NUMA.

THE captivating example from ancient history of the true spirit of government which I have just promised you, will form the best preparation for the doctrines I hold. It is an extract from a sort of schoolboy translation, though not without merit, of Plutarch's Life of Numa Pompilius, published under Dryden's name. In point of matter it is to me of exquisite sweetness and beauty, surpassing anything I am acquainted with. I am aware that latterly it has become the fashion to doubt the authenticity of such accounts, and to accompany doubts with sneers; but, according to my idea of human nature, there is in the following narration a much greater air of truth than of fiction, and the long career of Roman greatness, in war and peace, seems to me the strongest confirmation of the received accounts of the respective characters of Romulus and Numa—just as Athenian greatness may most naturally be attributed to Solon, that of Sparta to Lycurgus, and our own to the admirable Alfred, each government taking its impress from the character of its principal organizer.

They who doubt such causes of undeniable results involve themselves in greater difficulties; as Grotius says of those who disbelieve the miracles of the Christian religion, that to suppose its long continuance and wide spread accomplished by other means, is to suppose a greater miracle than all. We may say of this Life of Numa what Fox in his History adds after the description of a virtuous character—Who would not wish it to be true? There is indeed somewhat prevalent now a base mindedness, a sort of satanic envy and dislike of superiority, which makes many turn away from the contemplation of what is good and great—but let us hope for better times.

Numa was endued with a soul rarely tempered by nature and disposed to virtue, and excellently improved by learning, patience, and the studies of philosophy; by which advantages he had utterly extirpated not only all such disorderly motions of the mind as are universally esteemed vile and mean, but even all inclination to violence and oppression, which had once an honourable esteem amongst the barbarous nations, being persuaded that there was no other fortitude than that which subdued the affections, and reduced them to the terms and restraints of reason.

Upon this account, whilst he banished all luxury and softness from his own home, and offered his best assistance to any citizen or stranger that would make use of him, in nature of an upright judge or faithful counsellor, and made use of what leisure hours he had to himself, not in pursuit of pleasure, or acquisition of profit and wealth, but in the

worship of the immortal gods, and in the rational contemplation of their divine power and nature, his name grew so very famous that Tatius, who was Romulus' associate in the kingdom of Rome, chose to make him his son-in-law, bestowing upon him his only daughter Tatia. Nor did the advantage of this marriage swell his vanity to such a pitch as to make him desire to dwell with his father-in-law at Rome, but rather to content himself to inhabit with his Sabines, and cherish his own father in his old age. The like inclinations had Tatia, who preferred the private condition of her husband before the honours and splendour she might have enjoyed in her father's court.

This Tatia, as is reported, after she had lived for the space of thirteen years with Numa in conjugal society, died; and then Numa, leaving the conversation of the town, betook himself to a country life, and in a solitary manner frequented the groves and fields consecrated to the gods, making his usual abode in desert places. . . .

He was about forty years of age when the ambassadors came from Rome to make him offers of the kingdom. . . . Their speech was very short, as supposing that Numa would gladly have embraced so favourable an opportunity of advancement. But it seems it was no such easy matter to persuade him; for, contrary to their expectations, they found that they were forced to use many reasons and entreaties to allure him from his quiet and retired life to accept the government of a city, whose foundation was laid in war, and had grown up in martial exercises. . . .

As soon as he was determined by their persuasions and reasons, joined to those of his father and his kinsman Martius, and of his own citizens (having first done sacrifice to the gods), he set forward towards Rome, being met in his way by the senate and people, who expressed a marvellous desire to receive him. The women also welcomed him with joyful acclamations, and sacrifices were offered for him in all the temples; and so universal was the joy, that the city seemed not to receive a king, but the addition of a new kingdom.

The first thing that he did at his entrance into government was to dismiss the band of three hundred men which Romulus constantly kept for his lifeguard; for he did not think it reasonable to show any distrust of those who had placed so much confidence in him, nor to rule over people that durst not trust him. . . .

When Numa had thus insinuated himself into the favour and affections of the people, he began to dispose the humour of the city (which as yet was obdurate, and rendered hard as iron by war) to become more gentle and pliable by the applications of humanity and justice. It was then, if ever, that Rome was really such a city as Plato styles "a city in a high ferment;" for, from its very original, it was a recep-

tacle of the most daring and warlike spirits, whom some bold and desperate adventurer had driven thither from every quarter; and by frequent incursions made upon its neighbours, and continual wars, it had grown up and increased its power, and now seemed strong and settled by encountering dangers, as piles driven into the ground become more fixed and stable by the impulse and blows which the rammer lays upon them. Wherefore Numa, judging that it was the masterpiece of his art to mollify and bend the stubborn and inflexible spirits of this people, began to call in the assistance of the gods; for most commonly by sacrifices, processions, and religious dances which he appointed, and in which he officiated in person (which had always some diverting exercise and pleasing entertainment mixed with their solemn devotion), he soothed the minds of the people, and rendered their fiery, martial temper more cool and tame.

Numa forbade the Romans to represent God in the form of man or beast; nor was there any painted or graven image of a deity admitted among them formerly; but for the space of the first one hundred and sixty years they built temples and erected chapels, but made no statue or image, as thinking it a great impiety to represent the most excellent beings by things so base and unworthy; there being no possible access to the Deity but by the mind raised and elevated by divine contemplation.

The portion of lands which belonged to the city of Rome at the beginning was very narrow; but Romulus by war enlarged it very much. Now all this land Numa divided amongst the indigent part of the citizens, that by these means he might keep them from extreme want, which is the necessary cause of men's injuring one another, and might turn the minds of the people to husbandry, whereby themselves, as well as their land, would become better cultivated and more tractable. For there is no way of life, that either so soon or so powerfully produces the love of peace, as the life of husbandry, whereby so much warlike courage is preserved, as enables men to fight in defence of what is their own, but all boldness in acts of injustice and encroachment upon others is restrained and destroyed. Wherefore Numa, that he might take and amuse the hearts of his citizens with agriculture or husbandry, choosing it for them as an employment that rather begets civility and a peaceable temper than great opulency and riches, divided all the lands into several parcels, to which he gave the name of Pagus or Borough, and over each of them he appointed overseers, and such as should go about to inspect them.

And sometimes he would himself, in person, take a survey of them; and making a judgment of every man's inclinations and manners by his industry, and the improvements he had made, he preferred those

to honours and authority, who had merited most, and, on the contrary, reproaching and chiding the sluggishness of such as had given themselves over to a careless and negligent life, he reduced them to better order.

But among all his political institutions, that which is most admired, is his distribution of the people into companies according to their several arts and professions. For whereas the city did consist of, or rather was distinguished into, two kinds of people, and could not by any means be united, it being impossible to efface the strangeness and difference between them, but that there would be perpetual clashing and contention of the two parties, Numa, having considered that hard bodies, and such as are not easily incorporated so long as they remain in their gross bulk, by being beaten into a powder, or reduced into small atoms, are often cemented and consolidated into one, determined to divide the whole people into many lesser parts, and from thence, by casting them into other distinctions, to abolish that first and great distinction, which was thus scattered into smaller parts. This distribution was made according to the several arts or trades, of musicians, goldsmiths, masons, dyers, shoemakers, tanners, braziers, and potters; and all other handicraftsmen he composed and reduced into a single company, appointing unto every one their respective halls, courts, and ceremonies of religion proper to their several societies.

Thus it was, that he first banished out of the city the custom of calling and reputing one a Sabine, another a Roman, one a partisan of Tatius, another of Romulus; so that this distribution became the means of well uniting and mixing all of them perfectly together. . . . .

During the reign of Numa the temple of Janus was never seen open one day, but continued constantly shut for forty-three years together; so entire a cessation of all kind of war was there on all sides. For not only the people of Rome were tamed, and as it were charmed by the just and mild government of their prince, but even the neighbouring cities round about, as if some gentle breeze or salubrious air had blown from Rome upon them, began to change their temper; and a general inclination to peace and good government was infused into all, so that every one applied himself to the management of his lands and farm, to the quiet education of his children, and worship of the gods. Festival days and pleasant banquets, mutual benevolence and kind entertainment of friends visiting and conversing freely with each other, without fear or jealousy, were the common practice over all Italy, while from Numa's wisdom, as from a fountain, an universal honesty and justice flowed upon all, and his calm tranquillity diffused itself around every way. So that the high and hyperbolical expressions of the poets are said to fall short in describing the happy state of those days. For during the whole reign of Numa there was neither

war, nor sedition, nor innovation designed against the State, nor even so much as any enmity or envy to the person of the prince, nor was there any plot or conspiracy out of ambitious design to oust him of his government. But either the fear of the gods, who seemed to take a particular care of his person, or a reverence for his virtue, or divine good fortune, which during his time kept men's lives free and pure from all such wickedness, then produced an effectual instance and proof of the truth of that opinion of Plato, which he ventured to deliver many ages after, in relation to a well-formed commonwealth, viz., "That the only means to cause a true cessation or cure of evil among men, must be from some divine conjuncture of fortune, when royal authority, meeting with a philosophical mind in the same person, shall put virtue in a state of power and authority over vice." For the wise man is truly happy; and happy also are they, who can hear and receive the words which flow from the mouth of a wise man. Possibly there would be no need of compulsion or menaces to subject the multitude: but that when they see virtue in a clear and shining instance manifested in the life of their prince, they would freely of themselves grow wise, and conform themselves to an innocent and happy life, in friendship and mutual concord, with justice and moderation, wherein consists the noblest end of all political government, and that prince is of all others most worthy of royal authority, who can bring to effect such a life and such a disposition in his subjects. Now this is what Numa seems to have had constantly in his view more than any other man. . . . . .

Numa's death was neither sharp nor sudden, but being gradually worn away with old age and gentle sickness, he at last ended his days a little above fourscore years old. That which made all the glories of his life consummate, was the honour paid to him at his funeral, when all the people that were in alliance and amity with him met together at his interment, with public presents and garlands. The senators carried the bier, on which his corpse was laid, and the priests followed and accompanied the solemn procession. All the rest of the train, among which were a great number of women and children, followed with lamentable sighs and tears, not as if they assisted at the burial of an aged worn-out king, but rather as if each of them had then buried his dearest relative in the flower of his age.

FROM THE COMPARISON OF NUMA WITH LYCURGUS.

Thus much of Numa was truly great and godlike, that though an alien, he was thought worthy to be courted to come and take the crown—that he altered the whole frame of the government by mere

persuasion, and that he kept the absolute rule over a city consisting of two parties not yet well compacted, which he did without any occasion to make use of arms, or any sort of force; but by mere dint of wisdom and justice brought every one to concur entirely with him, and settled a perfect harmony among them.

GOVERNMENT.

In these our days,* we travel from London to York, with great rapidity, in perfect personal security, without accident, without even a jolt, and never stopped by flood, or frost, or snow. The reason is, because the money and labour expended have been expended in making a good road, instead of providing against the defects of a bad one.

This is an apt emblem of wise government, directing its means to proper ends, and keeping pace with the times; all then goes on simply and well.

But now let us suppose the road from London to York left as it was five hundred years ago, and passing through morasses and forests, and over desert moors. What loss of time, what uncertainty, what annoyances, what dangers, what impediments, what expense of horses and carriages and living, would then be the consequences!—What smiths, what wheelwrights, what surgeons, what robbers, what beggars, what guards, would be found along the line! What inns for travellers, what hospitals for accidents, what refuges for the poor, what stations for police, would border the now cultivated and smiling country! What botching and patching, and what expedients there would be! What acts of parliament! what acts to amend acts! what committees! what reports! what commissions! what grants of money!

We see the parallel continually exhibited in almost all matters of government. Then mole-eyed economists cry out against necessary expense; the profiters by things as they are, strenuously resist improvement, and find supporters for their own interested purposes; whilst the heads of government are too indolent or too timid, to strike at the root of what is defective. At last, when alteration must come, some false principle is adopted to "skin and film the ulcerous place"—some Board and its dependences is created to reduce the evil to the bearable point, and there to perpetuate it—or else there comes an overwhelming flood threatening to sweep away both good and bad together.

* [It should be borne in mind that this was written in 1835, when there was as yet no railway communication between London and York; but at a time when locomotion by road had attained its highest point of perfection.]

The prime remedy for the defects in our institutions is to be found in democratic, or self-government fitly organized—that government, which by making each part healthy and vigorous, would unite the whole in health and vigour under the monarchy or key-stone. Then would vanish a chaotic mass of evil, which at present renders sound legislation as impossible as it would be to frame an efficient mutiny act for an ill-organized army.

In my observation of even the worst part of mankind, I see so great an aptitude for the right path, and so little aberration, considering the quantity of neglect, that I feel confident an adequate enforcement of the real English principles of government, combined with our advanced state of civilization, would produce moral results as unthought of and as incalculable as have been the physical results from the application of steam.

The machinery by which alone this desirable end can be accomplished, must consist of local governments so ordered that those who are most successful in the honourable conduct of their own concerns, would be selected, and being selected, would be willing to give up time sufficient to superintend the affairs of their respective communities. Now this can only be permanently effected by making government a social and convivial affair—a point of interesting union to the men most deserving the confidence of their fellow-citizens.

Under such circumstances, the expense of government might be greater than at present, but the expense of want of government would assuredly be more than proportionately less, and the state of society would be healthy and constantly improving. I shall presently (see p. 148) enter into details, beginning with parochial government.

[PATERNAL GOVERNMENT.]

There are two kinds of Paternal Government. The one may be said to descend from above; the other to ascend from below. The one is the offspring of a single despotic will; the other of class tyranny and injustice. Both are stirred to action by a benevolent regard for the welfare of the governed; but in the one case the interference with liberty relates to matters in which the mass of mankind is deeply interested, such as marriage; in the other case to such exceptional conduct as that of the employer of labour, who, from greed, or indifference, or the force of custom, wrongs the state by impairing the health or shortening the lives of the employed. The despotic government will sanction marriage only if the contracting parties can produce proof of possessing a certain amount of property, and in doing this it is moved by the consideration of the misery that so generally follows

improvident unions: a democratic government will inflict penalties on those who in certain defined ways infringe the golden precept, *so use thine own as not to injure other.*

Paternal Government, after the despotic order, has long ceased in England; paternal rule of the other kind is that under which we are now living. Like all other forms of government and most things human, it has been the growth of time. The age may have been gradually growing ripe for it, but in a recognisable form it is barely a century old. It sprang into existence in the eighteenth century, about the time of the religious revival in which John Wesley bore the principal part, and owed its origin to the appointment of John Howard as High Sheriff of the county of Bedford in 1773. But it is possible to assign to it an earlier date, for in 1756 an event occurred that led to what may be called our earliest manifestation of Paternal Government in its modern form. In the autumn of that year, after his election as Fellow of the Royal Society, Howard was taken prisoner by the French, and found occasion to inquire into one of those abuses of power which by exciting first pity and indignation, and then inquiry and publicity, stimulated the legislature to action. In this case, the abuse of power consisted in the cruel usage by the French of English sailors and others whom they had taken captive. Howard, prompted by pity for the sufferings he witnessed, armed himself with the facts of the case, and by representations to the Commissioners of Sick and Wounded Seamen, obtained redress of existing wrongs, and greatly improved treatment for the future.

If, in lieu of a wrong done on foreign soil, and redress obtained by negotiation, we substitute England as the scene of the abuse, one body of Englishmen as the wrong-doers and another as the sufferers, and the English legislature as moved to find a legal remedy, we have a prototype of the successive movements of reform which have built up the system of Paternal Government in England.

It was seventeen years after the event to which I have just referred —in the year 1773—that an illustrative case, complete in all its parts and aspects, presented itself. The cruel practices had long prevailed, the cruel wrongs had long been suffered without redress, when the one thing wanted, a man with eyes to see and ears to hear, fell, like a ray of unwonted sunshine, on the dark dungeons of England. Full and complete discovery of existing abuses, a most patient and thorough inquiry into facts, a plain unexaggerated statement of results, prompt and efficient legislation, crowned by a vote of thanks, nobly won and richly merited (and all the work of five months or so in the winter of 1773-4), such was the true origin of the modern Paternal Government of England. But one thing was wanting to complete the edifice, and

that one thing Howard supplied. I shall reserve for another heading the full description of this his crowning work.

[GOVERNMENT BY INQUIRY AND INSPECTION.]

Something, as I have just said, must be added to Howard's five months winter's work to justify its claim to be considered as the prototype and exemplar of those beneficent reforms which, taken in the aggregate, justify us in stamping the régime under which we are now living as a Paternal Government. This something, too, Howard himself supplied. He soon discovered that the Acts of 1774, which he had taken the precaution to have printed at his own expense and sent to every prison in the land, were very imperfectly carried into effect, or even suffered to remain a dead letter, and that in a vast majority of instances. Accordingly, working in the same practical spirit which had characterized all his actions, he became of his own accord the first inspector. In this capacity he visited over and over again the prisons of England; and as inspecting without reporting would have been a mere waste of time, he published, and again at his own cost, not once but several times, full and systematic reports. These costly productions (I speak of his works on Prisons and on Lazarettos), which he gave away with a free hand, are to all intents and purposes the precursors of the periodical returns of our paid inspectors.

This work of inspecting and reporting ran, like an unbroken thread, through the seventeen years of travel, to which, as it has been justly said, no parallel or analogue can be found except in the travels and voyages of the Apostle of the Gentiles.

To Howard, then—to Howard, so inadequately described as the philanthropist, England is indebted for the first example of that part of her legislation which may be fitly termed *paternal*. He alone began and perfected the work of reform. He recognised the evil case of the prisoner, and the loathsome state of his prison-house; he probed the evil to its lowest depths; he moved the legislature to action; took upon himself the laborious office of inspector; and published and circulated at his own cost his own reports.

And now the Government of England has in its pay a little army of officials—inspectors, visitors, commissioners—traversing the country in all directions, and publishing periodical reports at the public expense, incessantly occupied in doing the very work that our great unpaid, self-appointed, inspector set the example of doing. The State, moved to action by the irresistible force of public opinion, has taken pity on the factory operative, the miner, the emigrant, the railway traveller, the lunatic, and the victims everywhere of greed, indifference, or

neglect, and has not only legislated on their behalf, but taken care that its printed mandates shall not prove a dead letter and fall into disuse: hence this costly army of reporting inspectors. If any one would know into how many other quarters this paternal principle has penetrated, let him look through the list of our Government offices and state officials in some almanack or year-book.

This view of the services of John Howard has in it an element of novelty. It is not implied in the epithet "Philanthropist;" it is not expressed in the eloquent language of the author of "A Short History of the English People"—a work much and justly commended. He is writing about the "New Philanthropy," and he finds its source, as I think incorrectly, in the religious revival brought about by the Wesleys; he mixes Howard up with a "crowd of philanthropists," among whom he is distinguished only by "the moral chivalry of his labours;" he knows the man who in 1756 released his fellow captives in France, and who, as the cottage-building model landlord of his day, had already nearly finished the work of regenerating the village of Cardington, as "the quiet country gentleman, whose only occupation had been reading the Bible and studying his thermometer." But, setting aside these misapprehensions, the author whom I am citing, does justice to the character and work of Howard. Nor is the error into which he falls to be compared with that of the Latter-Day Pamphleteer, who discovers in the modest, silent Howard, the author of the "Benevolent-Platform Fever" —the source of our modern morbid sympathy with scoundrels, and a grotesque and utterly impossible combination of dull and even dreary solidity with noble modesty.

For these, and all similar misunderstandings, I beg to substitute what I believe to be the plain and simple truth, that it is not merely a lesson of justice and humanity to criminals that Howard bequeathed to us, but the inauguration of a new epoch; for 1773, and the quarter of a century or so that followed it, was, as I have elsewhere expressed it, "a grand epoch in a great history; the dawn of practical hygiène, the sunrise of preventive philanthropy;" nor does Peter Bayne (the author of many a noble panegyric) exaggerate when he says "Christianity has in these last times once more vindicated its true essence, by embodying itself in philanthropy; by again breathing in a soft south wind of love over the face of civilisation. Among the fathers of the early church, the saints and martyrs of the olden time, might have walked the holy Howard. His influence is still amidst us, working in each of those countless schemes of beneficence by which our social evils are one by one attacked; which have always been blessed in their promoters, and which will, I believe, be more and more blessed in their objects."

III. PAROCHIAL GOVERNMENT.

It was my intention, in entering into the details of parish government, to have written an original article; but in looking into a sketch on the subject, which I published in January, 1834, I think it advisable to begin with that, in a corrected form, and to supply its deficiencies hereafter.

It seems to me that the first in order and most important of all reforms, is the Reform of Parochial Government—that is, the adaptation to present circumstances of the English principle of SELF-GOVERNMENT BY SMALL COMMUNITIES.

Parochial government is the very element upon which all other government in England depends, and as long as it is out of order, everything must be out of order—representation—legislation—police. Hence, instead of a House of Commons of men of practical wisdom and distinct views in matters of government, saying little and doing much, a House of Commons as it is. The choosers and the chosen are alike vague in the knowledge of their duties. They have had no proper training; they have not begun at the beginning—GOVERNMENT AT HOME. Hence also a confused mass of laws, and a flood of vice and crime. Hence demagogues, adventurers, theorists, and quacks, the tormentors of the public peace; and mobs, and combinations, and visionary schemes. Let each portion of the country be properly governed, and the soundness of the whole will make those evils necessarily vanish. At present, all is, as it were, chaotic, offering a fertile field to the wild and selfish, whilst the wise and good are discouraged and dismayed.

It is by the principles alone of self-government by small communities that a nation can be brought to enjoy a vigorous moral health, and its consequence—real prosperity. It is by the same principle alone that the social feelings can be duly called into action, and that men, taken in the mass, can be noble, generous, intelligent, and free. It has been from neglect of this principle that England, with all her advantages, has not made greater progress; and it will be only to its abandonment, and the substitution of a heartless system of generalization and mercenaries, that she can ever owe her decay and become fit for despotism.

Put the administration of justice throughout the land, the police, the poor laws, the roads, into the hands of mere officials placed over extended districts, with which they are to have little or no community —take from men of business and of fortune everything but their business and their fortunes, and on the one hand will be created a

race of traders in public affairs, and, on the other, of selfish besotted individuals, with a government relying for its strength on an all-pervading patronage; and, in the proportion that this is done, evil will arise, and good be prevented.*

It is true that everything connected with parish government has long been, with the ignorant and unthinking, as well as with many who ought to have known better, the object of ridicule and abuse; and that those whose duty it especially was to have taken office upon themselves, have diverted their attention and their efforts to public channels, or to those public institutions which, at best, are but inefficient expedients for well-organized local government. They have had an excuse for their neglect in the difficulty of effecting good, and the feeling that it could only be temporary; and most of those who have made any attempt at reform, have rather furnished a warning than an example for imitation, because the machinery was too defective to work well for any length of time.

There have been some general acts of parliament and many local ones for the better government of the parishes; but they have been called forth only to remedy evils become intolerable, and have either been in abandonment of true principles, or have very inadequately enforced them. The ancient courts, too, with their inquests and fines, have fallen into disuse, and their place has not been supplied by local institutions better fitted to the times, and absolutely necessary to well-ordered communities.

It is a melancholy truth that at this moment no small portion of the population through the land may be said to be out of the pale of government, unless when their crimes, the consequences of neglect, draw down its vengeance upon their heads. It is pitiable to see wretches brought before the tribunals of justice who never had any chance of well-doing; and the only marvel is that, with so many temptations and so little care, there is not far more of disorder and outrage.

Not only in the metropolis, but in every town, nearly in every parish in the kingdom, there is a neglected population, sunk in ignorance, filth, and vice, which, almost unseen, festers in the body politic, and more or less infects the health of all. It is not by the efforts of individuals, or of any combinations of individuals, that

* ["A democratic constitution, not supported by democratic institutions in detail, but confined to the central government, not only is not political freedom, but often creates a spirit precisely the reverse, carrying down to the lowest grade in society the desire and ambition of political domination. In some countries the desire of the people is for not being tyrannized over, but in others it is merely for an equal chance to everybody of tyrannizing."—J. S. Mill, "Political Economy."]

this evil can be remedied, but by an improved local organization proceeding from the State—an organization required for the moral elevation and the well-being of all classes, as well the governing as the governed.

The mode of reform I think desirable is briefly this. As the parishes throughout the kingdom vary so much in extent, population, wealth, and intelligence, it would be impossible to form one constitution to suit them all; nor would it be quite practicable to meet the exigences of each case, or of each class of cases, by separate Acts of Parliament; besides that amidst the rapid improvements of the age, which would become still more rapid by better local organization, no constitution could in numerous instances be long applicable without some change.

I would therefore suggest a general Act of Parliament, empowering commissioners to apply its provisions according to the circumstances of each parish; which being done, the commission to cease, and any future alterations, from time to time deemed requisite, to be made by the magistrates in quarter sessions assembled.

All that the commissioners or magistrates should have to do, should be to adopt parochial constitutions, and then the parishioners should manage their own affairs, independently of all control, except that of the legal tribunals. Any system of interference is a mockery of freedom—childish in conception, arbitrary and debasing in effect.

The difference in the size of parishes I think very desirable, as affording varied scope for intelligence and exertion. At the same time, there may be some so small as to require consolidation, at least for certain purposes; and others so large, and possessing such different interests, as to make division expedient. It seems to have been a universal oversight with the founders of empires, and with great legislators, to have made no provision for the change of circumstances their wise institutions were sure to produce, and baneful have been the consequences to mankind.

There are three principal points to be attended to in parish government—subdivision according to extent and population—election of officers, and their powers. Division is in all things essential to order, and every parish too extensive or populous for individual superintendence ought to be divided into wards, over each of which a warden or guardian, annually elected by the ratepayers of the ward or of the parish, according to circumstances, should preside.

It should never be forgotten, that it is indispensable to every well-regulated community that there should be no part of it with which some individual superintendent should not be thoroughly acquainted. In parishes requiring no subdivision, the ratepayers should annually

elect a certain number of governors. In parishes containing few sub-divisions, the wardens and a sufficient number elected in addition should be governors, and, where the wardens are numerous enough, they alone. In every parish there should be a principal and his deputy, chosen from among the governors by themselves.

With respect to the powers of the governors, they should have those of peace-officers, and each warden should have a sub-warden and the requisite number of assistant constables, elected in the same manner as himself. When fit persons could be found, a certain portion of the governors, to be elected amongst themselves, should be magistrates within the parish. All the ancient officers of England, from the sheriff downwards, are supposed to have a community of interest with those over whom they are placed—the only principle for a free country.

In the acts of parliament relating to the management of the poor, from Elizabeth's time to that of George the First, magisterial acts are directed to be done by magistrates "residing in or near the parish;" and to the non-observance of that direction may be attributed a great deal of the mal-administration of the poor-laws.

The governors should further have the power of enforcing the laws, of prosecuting such felonies or misdemeanours committed within their parish as to them should seem meet, of holding a court of requests, of abating and fining for nuisances, "of inquiring of," to use Lord Bacon's words respecting the jurisdiction of the court leet, "punishing and removing all things that may hurt or grieve the people in their health, quiet, and welfare," of managing the poor and the highways, of providing school-houses and savings' banks, of making drains, public walks, bathing-places, and any other improvements for the common good, and of raising rates within certain limits for carrying the above objects into effect.

Were parishes properly constituted, it can scarcely be doubted but that the advantages of distinction, the hope of further advancement, and the desire of doing good, would be sufficient to induce the best qualified to seek office; and as the electors would come much into immediate contact with the objects of their choice, they would most likely, at least after a little experience, be more careful and discriminating than electors under other circumstances usually are. Mob-flatterers, adventurers, and jobbers, would be too nearly in view long to escape detection.

It would be very desirable, I think, that every parish where the means would allow, and in many parishes, that every ward, or an union of wards, should possess a place of meeting for the convenience of the governors, and under their control, and that the rest of the rate-

payers or inhabitants should be admitted by ballot, and, on payment of a certain subscription, to form a sort of club. A point of union amongst different classes having a common interest must be advantageous to all, especially in the communication of information and the promotion of mutual goodwill; and such institutions would be excellent objects for the munificence of public-spirited individuals, either by donation or legacy.

The chief points to be attended to by the commissioners would be, what parishes ought to be divided—what subdivided or consolidated, and in what manner. How many governors there should be in each, and the mode of election in each. What portion of the powers contained in the general act should be extended to each parish. Where there should be magistrates, and their number, and what the limits of taxation according to wealth, distribution of property, and intelligence.

Parishes are so many little commonwealths, capable in different degrees of being made by effective organization nurseries of useful ambition, manly intelligence, and social virtue. It is here that public men should begin their discipline, cultivate their sympathies, and learn to see their way. It is here that the lowliest citizen should proudly feel within the reach of merit the first steps to advancement. It is from this goal that all should have a fair start, and the State place her sons in their proper order. Then might representation be the extraction of the choicest of the land, legislation become something like the essence of wisdom and simplicity, and police an ever vigilant force, having for its chief characteristic moral influence.

I have sketched this outline to endeavour to give to the public mind a little of what I conceive to be the right tone on the all-engrossing topic of Reform. I like comfortable, generous times. I loathe the base, malignant, destroying spirit now in the ascendant, chilling and poisoning as it works; and I would fain see the present age of calculation and economy pass away, to be succeeded by a glorious one of high-minded morals. To inspirit the rich, to enrich the industrious, and to ensure a sound and brilliant prosperity, what this great country wants, is not a sour system of paring and pulling down, but a statesmanlike infusion of the splendour and energies of war into the conduct of peace—the same prompt and liberal application of means to ends—the same excitements to action—the same encouragements to those who serve their country.

In my article on Government I said that the only machinery by which the greatest moral improvement can be effected must consist of local governments, so ordered that those who are most successful in the honourable conduct of their own concerns would be selected, and,

being selected, would be willing to give up time sufficient to superintend the affairs of their respective communities.

By the most successful in the honourable conduct of their own concerns, I mean those who, by prudence, sagacity, integrity, and industry, attain independence at least, or, being born to fortune, exhibit those moral qualities which make fortune a blessing to themselves and to those around them.

Now, in order to secure the selection of such persons, it is necessary that those who are to select should have uppermost, or indeed solely, in their minds, their own individual well-being; and that being the case, it must follow that they would choose the best qualified to serve their respective communities. This is a principle which, though probably in some degree anciently in force, has long since fallen into neglect; and the relation between the electors and the elected, in parishes as elsewhere, is now too slight to make the electors sufficiently careful in their choice.

For instance, in any parish it is ordinarily matter of indifference, or nearly so, to the parishioners at large, whom they elect to govern them; and if they do interest themselves, it is only on some extraordinary occasion, or for some party purpose; but indifference is the rule. The reason is twofold: first, because the powers of government are much too small; and, secondly, because the elections are by too large masses. The remedy is also twofold: first, to divide every parish, if not already small enough, into such districts, that one individual, to be elected by each district, might be perfectly cognizant of its interests; and, secondly, to give him such powers that those interests would be materially promoted or injured, according to his qualifications for using the powers intrusted to him. Then each elector would have the strongest possible inducement to make a judicious choice: first, because he would be one of a number sufficiently limited to make his vote of decided consequence; and, secondly, because he would personally and continually feel the good or ill effect of his selection.

Now, the fittest persons to preside over the several districts would be also the fittest to be the governors of the whole parish; and, therefore, the self-interested feeling, which is the strongest and most constant, of each elector, would be made subservient to the interests of his community. This is what I mean, in my former article, by the words, "As the electors would come much into immediate contact with the objects of their choice, they would most likely—at least after a little experience—be more careful and discriminating than electors under other circumstances usually are. Mob-flatterers, adventurers, and jobbers would be too nearly in view long to escape detection." Under

such a system these characters must either mend their course, or sink into insignificance, to the great blessing of the country.

In the election of the heads of districts I should be inclined to give a vote to every man of competent age, having anything like a settled inhabitancy, and I should make the elections annual. The elected should be the representatives of their districts, to all intents and purposes, the inhabitants delegating to them for the year the whole of their political power.

Here would be the first step in a graduated system of representation —a principle absolutely necessary for the well-ordered government of a population so numerous as that of this country.

The artificial system of electing electors is a false one; but here the soundest test is applied. The head of a district, besides being its representative in the parish, and its delegate everywhere, should be a peace-officer, with others under him elected like himself; should superintend the collection of rates; and should see to the enforcement of all laws relating to his charge—so that his attention to his duties, or his neglect or vexatious execution of them, would be felt by all within his jurisdiction. The evils arising from the present deficiencies of government might then be expected to vanish, and the effects of moral influence, the most powerful of all, would appear in their place. Division into organized districts would afford practicable fields for the well-disposed to work in, instead of the unmanageable and hopeless masses at present continually exposed to confusion and misrule.

The consideration of the inducements to the most fitting persons to give up time sufficient to superintend the affairs of their respective communities, I shall defer for the present. I will just add an observation of Dr. Johnson's, as applicable to my doctrines:—"I am a friend to subordination, as most conducive to the happiness of society. There is a reciprocal pleasure in governing and being governed."

Here let me advertise my readers that my plan, in this essay on Parochial Government, as throughout my writings, will be to proceed in a familiar and desultory manner, rather than by formal and unconnected dissertations, and that those who wish to draw any profit from my labours, if any profit is to be drawn, must read me, not cursorily, and now and then, but regularly, and with attention. My object is to induce my readers to put their minds in training, "by setting before them," as I expressed myself in my preliminary address, "an alterative diet of sound and comfortable doctrines." Now, it is the nature of an alterative diet to require time and perseverance. But to return to my subject.

I must repeat that good government is only to be expected from the selection of men of honourable and business-like repute in the conduct

of their own affairs; and any system which does not produce such selection, however loudly cried up by the unthinking and their deceivers, is false and worthless. Parishes are at present too disorganized, and their powers of government are too ill directed and too limited to hold out sufficient inducement to the most fitting persons to interest themselves in the management of them. The best qualified are generally the most averse to interfere, and consequently a vast quantity of public spirit lies dormant, or is in a manner wasted on the many expedients with which this country abounds for supplying the deficiencies of local governments.

Few people comprehend in their idea of parish governments anything beyond the administration of the poor-laws; whereas, if the governments were what they ought to be, poor-laws would soon become unnecessary. Pauperism is a monster which looms large through the mist of ignorance and misconception; but I, who have grappled with and anatomized it in its various forms, agricultural, commercial, and mixed, in Devonshire, Herefordshire, Lancashire, and London, know perfectly well that, under the influence of local self-governments thoroughly organized, it would soon disappear from the land. To the moral cripples around us under such governments, we should have only to take the tone of the apostle, when, steadfastly beholding the cripple at Lystra, he cried out with a loud voice, "Stand upright on thy feet;" and the cripple leaped and walked. So, without any miracle, would it soon be here! for poverty in England is not from physical, but solely from moral causes. Remove the multitudinous encouragements to dependence, on the one hand—open as much as possible the ways to self-advancement, on the other, and the character of those who come within the baneful influence of the poor-laws would be reversed.

Parishes are little States, which ought to exhibit in finished miniature the principal features of large ones. They should be preparatory schools for the art of government, full of rivalry in themselves, and with one another, in promoting the public welfare—moral farms, divided, drained, and tilled, so as to produce the richest harvests and the fewest weeds. At present they are little better than neglected wastes.

The first division I have proposed, into wards, has already a model on a larger scale in the wards of the city of London, each having an alderman, his deputy, and a certain number of common councilmen with their inferior officers—only that many modifications would be necessary. The city model did not begin low enough, that is, in the parishes throughout the land, so that the first elements of government have remained crude and disordered, affecting upwards the whole frame with the imperfections of its parts.

With respect to a "settled inhabitancy," as a qualification for voting for the head of a parish ward, or for the governors of a whole parish not large enough to be divided into wards, I should say, that having been usually resident for six months previous to the election, and having, during that time, paid, whether weekly or otherwise, and however little, for an occupancy, would be sufficient.

I think the population of each ward should not much exceed a thousand, so that the number of males, of competent age, qualified as above, could not much exceed a hundred; therefore, on the score of numbers, there could be no objection to so low a qualification. Then the election would only be for a year, and each voter would have a personal interest in his choice.

It is desirable to exercise as many as possible in governing themselves, or in choosing those who are to govern them; and here would be a safe approach to universal suffrage in the election of those immediately in authority over their fellow-citizens, and to be their representatives in the parish, and in higher degrees of government.

Now let us suppose a parish containing thirty thousand inhabitants divided into thirty wards, the resident males of each ward, of competent age, and paying for their occupancy, electing annually one of themselves to superintend their common interests, to keep the peace, and to represent them in the parish government; there feeling himself responsible for the good order and good condition of his ward, with subordinate officers elected in like manner to assist him. I apprehend that, under such a system, the moral influence created would go near to supersede the necessity of legal restraints, and that greatly increased powers of government, for the purposes of improvement, might be safely and advantageously granted under so much and such well-ordered popular control.

I now proceed to the consideration of the inducements of the most fitting persons to give up time sufficient to superintend the affairs of their respective communities; and I suppose it will be universally granted that no consideration on the subject of government can be of more importance.

The principal reasons which deter men of honourable feelings, and of habits of attention to their own affairs, from taking much part in public concerns, I apprehend to be—the difficulty, from want of proper organization, of effecting much good—the fleeting nature, from the same cause, of any good effected—the want of co-operation on the part of others like themselves—the opposition of the interested and the factious—and the grievous annoyance of popular elections.

All these objections, it seems to me, would be obviated by such division as I propose. Each district would be so small, that an indi-

vidual could with ease comprehend and watch over its interests. Whatever good he could effect, he might confidently anticipate would be preserved by the simplicity of the machinery. Uniformity of division would ensure uniformity of co-operation, whilst the interested and the factious, as I have remarked before, would be too nearly in view, and in too close contact with their fellow-citizens, to escape detection, and would soon, consequently, be put to silence. It is only in a state of disorganization that such people can thrive.

The election, though strictly popular, would be subject to none of the disagreeable circumstances incident to unwieldy constituencies, necessarily without direct interests, and in which the worst portion is almost always the most prominent. In parish wards the compact number of electors, their clear and substantial and common interest to make a judicious choice, their means of accurately judging, after a short working of the system, whom to choose, and the freedom and fairness of the election, would cause a very different process from that which is witnessed amidst the corruptions, and unreasonableness, and violence of the oligarchic and ochlocratic systems.

This is the first operation of what I have called the democratic principle, or principle of self-government, fitly organized; one of the advantages of which would be the production of a new race of characters, for which at present there is no opening; and we may judge of the soundness of the ochlocratic principle by the fact, that its extension has not exhibited a single instance of an improvement of public men.

In the arrangement I propose, one strong inducement to men of character and business to take the lead in the affairs of their respective divisions would be the apprehension of personal annoyance to themselves, and of injury to their every-day interests, if they allowed ill-qualified persons to be set in authority over them.

Now, whenever means can be devised to excite the respectable portion of the community to take an active part in public affairs, that portion, all experience shows, is sure to prevail. It is the general supineness of the deserving that gives to the undeserving any chance of ascendency; and that supineness cannot exist under the democratic principle fitly organized. Under any other principle it will always exist, for the reasons stated in the article on the "Principles of Government." Compact division, under the constant inspection of men of character, would, by that inspection alone, become greatly improved.

Mere authority prevails only as it presses; but authority joined with worth dispels disorder, and, as it were, clears the moral atmosphere. What Plutarch says of the effect of Numa's virtue, I have seen enough to know is true to nature; and here I must most strongly

recommend to my reader's attention the extracts from his life given in an earlier portion of this work (p. 138), especially the beautiful passages in pages 140 and 141.

There would be other inducements to the best qualified to become the heads of wards, which I shall mention when I come to consider the heads in their capacity of representatives in the parish councils.

In point of detail, it may perhaps be objected that it would frequently be dangerous to confine the right of choosing the heads of wards to the inhabitants of the wards, instead of extending it to those of the parish generally, and in some debased divisions it might possibly for a time cause some slight inconvenience. But, in the first place, it is to be considered that the main principle of the choosers, having a strong common personal interest in their choice, can only be called into full action by such a restriction; secondly, that the present debasement could not long continue under an improved organization; and, thirdly, that comparison on every side would soon operate beneficially on elections—besides that the lowest classes are the least jealous of their superiors, and the most so of their equals and those only a little above them; add to which, the introduction of a few improper persons into a body of men of weight would certainly end in the confusion and retreat of the intruders.

The restriction of the right of voting to those who have an immediate interest in exercising their right, is the only sound principle; and the adoption of a sound principle, though attended with some present inconvenience, must always end in sound results—whereas the admission of an unsound principle, in order to avoid partial or temporary evil, will eventually produce greater evil still.

Lastly, it is to be observed, that the institution of parish wards would be no new or doubtful experiment. It is only the combined application of two tried principles; the first, the true English one of self-government, and the second, the principle of division carried down to the point of personal control. It is a military division, and civil principle; which is the only organization by which well-ordered and real freedom can exist. A parish ward would be to a parish what a company is to a regiment; and the head of the ward, with his deputy and inferior assistants, would answer to the captain with his lieutenant and non-commissioned officers. The company is the foundation of the discipline and well-being of the army, as the ward would be the foundation of the discipline and well-being of the State.

Military division, combined with the principle of self-government, seems to have been the system perfected by Alfred; and I have so high an idea of its efficacy, as fully to believe the accounts of the good order reported to have prevailed in his reign. Besides, if the histories

of him handed down to us had been fictitious, they would, from the age in which he lived, have made him superstitious and bigoted; but though he is always stated to have been devout, his devotion is represented as pure as his love of justice. It is only under a system of moral influence such as his, that his noble saying, that men ought to be as free as their own thoughts, has any sense. It supposes perfect liberty of action to men made just by good government.

I now proceed to the consideration of parish government in the aggregate.

I was asked the other day by an inhabitant of one of the great squares what there could possibly be to do for the head of a parish ward, supposing parishes to be divided as I propose. Let us suppose the parish, in which the square is situated, to be divided, and the square to be one of the wards, and that the management of everything which relates generally to the interests of the parish, such as lighting, paving, cleansing, police, and pauperism, was centered in the parish council, consisting of the heads of the different wards. Now the square being inhabited by rich people, a rich man would be elected for its head, one who had a common interest with those over whom he was immediately placed, which interest he would represent in the council, and superintend in the ward. He would have a voice in raising the general supplies, and authority to see to their particular application in his own ward. He would have a perfect knowledge of his district, and a constant eye to its good management. He would be an easy channel for the other inhabitants to apply through, in case of any complaint to redress, or any suggestion to offer. He would be the guardian of the peace of his ward, and responsible for it, with his subordinate officers to assist him. His personal superintendence would be a check to anything detrimental to the common interest. He would be able to collect the bulk of the rates free of expense, returning the defaulters, if any, to be dealt with by the council. He would have authority sufficient to maintain the interests of his ward, and would be sufficiently controlled not to be able to maintain them at the expense of the interests of the parish. He would have a compact and practicable field for the discharge of his public duty, and would have an opportunity, if he were so minded, as no doubt many would be, to distinguish his year or years of office by acts of munificence and public spirit. Whatever information or returns were wanted, they could, through his means, be easily and accurately obtained.

In such a ward the duties would be lighter and more simple than in poorer and less cultivated ones; but still there would be evils to prevent, and advantages to procure, as well as to see to the due management of the ordinary business: and such a superintendence,

made universal, could not fail to ensure the spread of good government, and of local improvement, with great rapidity. I shall have more to say on this subject in my observations on parish government in the aggregate, which I will endeavour to condense so as to conclude the subject.

The notions of the upper classes as to the nature and importance of parochial government are in general most inadequate and erroneous. They are scarcely extended, as I have said before, to anything beyond the administration of the poor-laws; and as that has been a very troublesome and disagreeable duty, and as the discharge of it was under the control and exposed to the caprice of the magistracy, it has been considered that parish offices were only fit to be filled by persons of unrefined habits and low station. The consequence has been the gross neglect of the fundamental principle of sound government, which is the principle of self-government by small communities. In the meantime the wealthy and enlightened classes, either from public-spirited motives, or sense of duty, or from love of distinction, or want of occupation, have diverted their attention to expedients, which either very inadequately remedy, or greatly aggravate, the evils arising from the absence of efficient local government.

The means of accomplishing a beneficial change consist in a re-organization adapted to present circumstances, in the concentration of existing powers, and in the creation of new ones.

By re-organization I mean, first, internal division, where division is requisite; secondly, the creation of new functionaries, more in number than at present; thirdly, a remodelling of the mode of election. By the concentration of existing powers I mean the transference of all powers, vested in separate boards, or commissions, or officers, to the general parochial council. By the creation of new powers, I mean of such increased powers of interference, of taxation, and of making improvements, as might be advantageously intrusted under a system of completely organized popular control.

The greater the power vested in parochial government, the more likely it would be to fall into proper hands; because, in the first place, it would enhance the inducements to seek it; and, in the second, it would create an apprehension of abuse, if misplaced, and it would make electors more cautious in their choice.

In order to ensure a willingness for office on the part of the well qualified, it would be necessary to remove all control over them, except that of the higher legal tribunals. It would be extremely unfitting to submit men, freely elected by their fellow citizens, to the control of individual magistrates. They ought to be responsible to no tribunal lower than the Court of Quarter Sessions. The instances of abuse

could but be very infrequent, and a feeling of independence is absolutely necessary to the manly discharge of public duty.

According to my view, parishes should be divided into five classes. The first class is that in which the population is so small as not to admit of representation, and in that case the vestry would be the council, and from itself would choose what executive officers were required. The second class is that which would not need division, but which would be sufficiently populous to elect a council. The third class is that where a division into wards is necessary, but where the wards would not be sufficiently numerous for the heads of them to form a council, and then it would be requisite that each ward should elect a certain number of members besides the heads to constitute a council. The fourth class is where the wards are so numerous, that the heads of them would be sufficient to form a council; and the fifth class is that in which the heads would be too numerous, in which case they ought to choose amongst themselves who should be of the council.

I have before observed, that I do not think the population of each ward should ever be much more than one thousand, and I am of opinion that the council of the largest parishes should not exceed fifty.

For the purpose of illustration, I will again suppose a parish of thirty thousand inhabitants, divided into thirty wards, each ward having its head, his deputy, and ten of the most fit inhabitants as constables, all annually elected by residents of six months' standing, paying for their own occupancy, and by ratepayers for the same period. It should be the duty of the head and his subordinates, by continued personal inspection, to see to the good keeping of the ward, both as to its peace and its local arrangements. It should also be in the power of the head to call the inhabitants together, if he or they wished it, to consult on any particular point.

The business of the council should be to elect a president and his deputy, with a clerk, and what other paid officers might be necessary, and to choose from themselves the executive officers. The council should form an estimate of the expenses for the year, consolidating the rates into one for the purposes of collection, but distinguishing them as to their intended application. They should publish, as often as convenient, for circulation through the heads of the wards, statements of their estimates, and of their projected measures, together with accounts of their expenditure, so that the public might always know what was going on, and either object in time, or cheerfully agree. Under such circumstances, there would be no danger in granting considerably increased powers of taxation, improvement, and superintendence.

It should also be the duty of the council to inspect the parish from time to time, because such inspection would not only be preventive of evil, but, where it existed, would be the most efficacious mode of making it disappear.

If the chief men of any large parish were to associate together for the purposes of government under such an organized system, there would, beyond all doubt, soon be a very great change for the better, and many of those drawbacks to the well-being of society, which, when seen at a distance, are supposed to be remediless, would dwindle into insignificance. At present there is an unapproached mass of evil, which it is sinful and unchristian, as well as most impolitic, to leave unattended to. A field is open for the most interesting and beneficial exercise of the moral faculties, and till it is entered, it is in vain to think of anything really sound in any part of the State. The very foundation is rotten.

I have asserted that the only plan by which properly qualified persons, that is, "the most successful in the honourable conduct of their own affairs," could be induced to give up time sufficient to superintend the affairs of their respective communities, would be by making government "a social and convivial affair—a point of interesting union to the men most deserving the confidence of their fellow citizens." It is not very difficult, often very easy, to induce such men as above described to come forward in emergencies; but when some particular grievance is redressed, or improvement carried into effect, they return again to their own affairs, leaving those of the public to the ordinary, incompetent, or self-interested superintendence; and a retrograde movement, or at least no further advance, is the consequence.

Cheap government is the favourite doctrine of the day; but it is only sound when it means the best government on the lowest terms. In any other sense it is a delusion; for however small the direct expenses of inadequate government may be, the collateral ones will be much greater in proportion. For instance, the services of an incompetent judge might be purchased for a much less remuneration than those of a competent one; but what would be the cost of his incompetency?

I have known in a single assize town the expense of unnecessary delay cost individuals, besides other inconveniences, more than half the judge's salary.

So in parishes, misgovernment and want of government are much more expensive to the community than good government would be, though apparently they cost less.

Our ancestors understood principles something better, and were wont to pay for public services, as in the case of justices of the peace

and members of Parliament; and when the practice fell into disuse, justices and members took to paying themselves at a much more extravagant rate.

That grievance has been on the decline, but it is now getting into fashion to do away with citizen government, and to substitute that of mere hirelings in its place.

The true system is that of the best citizens governing the rest on the social and convivial plan. In every community the style of government ought to have relation to the style of the upper part of the community, otherwise it will inevitably fall into low hands. Those who serve the public, must be treated in the style to which they are accustomed. It is perfectly useless to attempt permanently to command men's services for nothing, or even for less than they are worth. The aim should be to procure the best services on the cheapest terms, and in the most efficient way; and there is no system so cheap or so efficient as that of the table. The Athenians in their most glorious days rewarded those citizens who had deserved well of the State, by maintaining them at the public expense in the *prytaneum*, or council-hall. The table also is a mode of payment for services to be performed, which goes further than any other, and will command greater punctuality, greater attention, and greater alacrity. When properly regulated, it is the bond of union and harmony, the school for improvement of manners and civilization, the place where information is elicited and corrected better than anywhere else, as I know from repeated experience; and by the mixture of men of different occupations, and to some extent of different classes, over the social board after the discharge of their public duties, the best results are produced both on the head and heart. It is by this process only that the higher classes can come at any accurate knowledge of what relates to those below them, or the lower classes form a proper estimate of their superiors. It is only in these moments of freedom and relaxation, when suspicion, and jealousy, and fear are banished, that the truth comes out, or can come out.

There is no intercourse which is so interesting or profitable as that which arises from a mixture of business and pleasure. Pleasure alone is sauce without meat, and soon palls; business alone is meat without sauce, and is equally dry; but the two together have the true relish.

For want of division into communities, from parish communities upwards, and for want of self-government, society is vague, heartless, and dull. People meet by classes, without an object, without interest, and without any distinct limit as to numbers; in consequence of which the chief feature of society of the present day is a mob-like sameness.

By means of self-governed communities, the boundaries of society would be more defined and significant, the objects of intercourse more interesting and profitable, and the relations between man and man more various and sympathetic. A great part of the profitless, or even pernicious, pursuits into which people plunge, are merely substitutes for the occupations of such a system as I advocate—a system which cannot exist except socially and convivially.

Local governments efficiently organized would soon produce such an improvement as comparatively to leave little to do, except to keep the machinery in order; and therefore, unless inducements were held out to keep up a constant watchfulness and general superintendence, neglect, first of all, and then abuse, would creep in.

As I have above remarked, the style of government ought to have relation to the style of the upper part of the community, otherwise it will inevitably fall into inferior hands; and therefore such a parish as St. George's, Hanover Square, which contains 58,000 inhabitants, and is, doubtless, for its population, the richest community in the world, ought to have a rich government establishment, if the affairs of government are expected to be permanently attended to by the chief people.

It is far from desirable that the government of any community should be exclusively in the hands of the richest: on the contrary, the greater mixture of classes there is the better, provided the selection is made on account of talent and character; but in order to hold out sufficient inducement to the highest, and to raise the tone of those below to a height corresponding with their duties, it is necessary to adopt the standard of the chief men, or nearly so. St. George's, I should say, ought to have a splendid common-hall and appendages, combining the plan of the city companies' halls, and the west-end clubs, for the purposes of business, entertainment, and daily resort; and such an establishment would offer the best encouragement to architecture, sculpture, and painting. It ought to be built and maintained out of the rates, and it would soon pay for itself by its effects. Here those placed in authority should be entertained at convenient periods and on set occasions, at the public expense, not extravagantly and excessively, but in refined moderation, and with simple refreshments, whenever thought conducive to the despatch of business, particularly with suppers, to induce occasional inspections of the parish at uncertain hours of the night—a regulation I know to be of the greatest efficacy.

On this subject, I have observed already, "It would be very desirable, I think, that every parish where the means would allow, should possess a place of meeting for the convenience of the governors,

and under their control, and that the rest of the ratepayers or inhabitants, should be admitted by ballot, and on payment of a certain subscription to form a sort of club. A point of union amongst different classes having a common interest, must be advantageous to all, especially in the communication of information and the promotion of mutual good-will; and such institutions would be excellent objects for the munificence of public-spirited individuals, either by donation or legacy."

Establishments of this kind, I should hope, might also be made subservient to female interests, though, where different classes are concerned, that is a matter of some difficulty, though, perhaps, not of an insuperable nature. Exclusiveness, so much talked against, and often so unreasonably, is really a necessary precaution in the present undefined boundaries of overgrown society; but, in a better organized state, different and more sympathetic feelings might grow up. The first year the present magnificent building of the Athenæum Club was opened, when ladies were admitted every Wednesday night during the season, it was certainly a very convenient, cheap, and easy mode of assembling, and might, it appears to me, be permanently adopted and improved upon under other circumstances.

With the political inducements I have mentioned, to the leading men of different communities to take upon themselves the charge of government, together with the attractions of such establishments as I propose, I should not apprehend any deficiency of public spirit; whilst the popular and organized mode of election would effectually prevent abuse, as far as human means can prevent it. I will only add on this part of my subject, that the higher the tone and style of government, the more unlikely improper persons would be to seek to intrude into it, because in any refined element such persons cannot exist.

From St. George's, the richest, I will turn to the hamlet of Mile End New Town in the parish of Stepney, I believe the poorest community in the metropolis, and the same reasoning, I think, applies in both cases, reference being had to the respective degrees of wealth; and so with respect to every parish in the land.

The regulations in country parishes must often vary considerably from those in parishes in towns; but division, the superintendence of the best men, and the bringing together the inhabitants, socially and convivially, is at least as necessary as in towns, if not more so. The advantages to the country, and to country gentlemen, if the latter could once be brought to turn their attention and their energies to local government instead of their present pursuits, would be incalculable. The improvement in property, and in the morals and intelligence of all classes, would be general and rapid. I have at different periods

of my life examined minutely into the practicability of such improvement, and I see few difficulties, if once set about. Rivalry and example in local government would cause a widespread knowledge of the art, at present lamentably neglected, or unknown, though the most interesting that can occupy a rational and benevolent being's thoughts. In order to give it the more interest, it is desirable to concentrate the power and expense of government as much as possible in each separate community, and to leave the citizens to manage their own concerns, uncontrolled except by laws enforced by the higher tribunals.

I do not know that I have anything further to add on the subject of parochial government. What I have written is somewhat desultory, and interspersed with repetitions; but my wish is to impress my doctrines upon the minds of my readers as familiarly as possible. My suggestions are much scattered, and, in order fully to comprehend my views, it will be necessary to read the article on the Principles of Government; the Life of Numa, with the prefixed remarks; the article on Government; that on Parochial Government; that on the observance of the Sabbath; and the one on Parochial Improvement.

REFORM OF LOCAL ABUSES.

I can speak from experience, that those who undertake to reform local abuses, will do well to bear in mind, that in the first instance scarcely any information is to be obtained except from the meddling and the malicious, which of course is little to be relied upon; and that it is only by creating confidence as to perseverance, discretion, and purity of motive, that information can be elicited from those who are worthy of credit. The well-disposed have a repugnance to say anything against their neighbours, and have also a dread of having their quiet disturbed by incurring ill-will. They have to be convinced that good will be produced, and without danger to themselves, before they will venture upon free communication. In the first instance they fence and equivocate; and it requires more perseverance and patience than beginners in reform usually possess, to make them lay aside their caution. Breaking bread with them is far more efficacious than formal attack, and the truth is much more accurately learned in the ease of conversation than by set questions. It is, moreover, of great advantage never to use accusatory information, however credible, except as a ground for inquiry; for if it should prove false, or even exaggerated, ill-will is excited, and authority justly weakened. But if it prove true, or the exact proportion of truth is ascertained, conviction after dispassionate inquiry produces by much the greatest and most lasting effect, and the more probable the information, the greater

the credit for fairness in not hastily acting upon it. It is good not to anticipate, even in manner, the proof of guilt.

Some people act as if the mass of mankind could never be improved, and some as if they might be made perfect on a sudden. The middle course is the safe one; that is, to ascertain what ought primarily to be done, and with practicable wisdom to direct attention there. Many stumble at the first step, by fixing their eyes on the summit; but it ought never to be forgotten that there is a summit to be aimed at. It is equally unwise to treat children as if they were men or as if they were never to become so.

[What is said above about the unwillingness of the well-disposed to say anything against their neighbours ought to be borne constantly in mind by all those who are engaged in visiting the mixed class called the poor. In all large towns where many families occupy the same house, the poor and the destitute, with their strange contrasts of condition, often live side by side in adjoining rooms on the same landings. Measured by the money they contrive to get together and spend, the destitute are often the richer of the two, but as they live on the show of poverty, and squander all they get on the grossest self-indulgence, their rooms, like their persons, wear that look of squalor which ninety-nine in a hundred of those who make it their business to visit among the poor accept as unerring signs of "penury and want of things." Wiser men know that they are deceived. But the result I once heard well expressed in such bitter words as these, uttered by a poor man, rightly so called, but whose person and premises were kept scrupulously clean—"for the decent poor man a tract, for the squalid drunkard a blanket or a chaldron of coals." And yet this same man, with all his bitter consciousness of the true state of things, would feel it a point of honour not to betray his neighbour, for, after all, he belonged to his own class more than the visitor did. So is it even with the best of servants—they will not "peach" upon their fellow servants. So indeed is it with all classes of Englishmen and English women from the highest to the lowest. All have a commendable, though somewhat inconvenient, *esprit de corps*, which does not appear to exist in the same degree among some of the so-called Latin races.

In illustration of this difference I may state the following incident. I happened to encounter a shrewd working man, acting as foreman to a gang of labourers. He had just returned from the Crimea, where he had formed one of the transport corps. I said to him, you must have seen a good deal of foreigners—of Italian, Russian, Turkish, and French soldiers—and I found that he had a good word to say for all but the French. As I attributed this to hereditary dislike, I asked him his reason. His answer was highly characteristic: "They are not true to each other." They are not necessarily their enemies who say this of them.]

IV. REFORM.

REFORM is an admirable thing, though reformers are seldom admirable men, either in respect to their motives, or to the means they employ to attain their ends. They are ordinarily overbearing, rapacious, and inquisitorial, perfectly heedless how much suffering they cause to those who stand in their way, and only befriending their supporters for the sake of their support. They are often men of profligate habits, whose chief reason for busying themselves in public affairs is because they are afraid to look into their own. Their real delight is in pulling down both men and institutions, and if they could help it, they would never raise up either one or the other. When they do so, it is only from opposition, and never upon sound principles. They delight in the discomfiture of others, and take no pleasure in any one's happiness. With them everything is abstract and general, except the work of demolition, and there they will enter into practical detail with great zest. They are profoundly ignorant of the art of government, and they seldom get beyond a general fitting measure, little knowing, and not at all caring, whom it pinches. As their policy is to flatter and cajole the lowest, they reject whatever is high-minded and generous, and seek in everything to debase the social standard. They are to the many what courtiers are to the few, and like them they misrepresent and vilify every class but that by which they hope to thrive. They are vain and self-sufficient, and think they thoroughly know what they have neither heads nor hearts to comprehend. There is this in them that is disgusting, that they are the reverse of what they profess, and they are the more dangerous, because, under plausible pretexts and with specious beginnings, they work to ruin. They rise into notice and importance from the pertinacious clinging to abuse of men often more estimable than themselves, and from the inaction of those who content themselves with wishing for the public good, instead of sacrificing a portion of their ease in order to secure it. They see their ends but indistinctly, and they are regardless of the means by which they advance to them. They will advocate the cause of humanity with a total want of feeling, and will seek to establish what they call purity, by corruption and intrigue. Freedom of opinion they enforce by intimidation, and uphold the cause of civil and religious liberty by tyranny and oppression.

Nothing could exhibit the character of a reformer by trade, more strongly than the attempt to overhaul the pension list. It was an attempt inquisitorial, unfeeling, and unnecessary; and its object was

to inflame and gratify the basest passions of the multitude. The amount, in a national point of view, was not worth thinking of; as a precedent it had lost all its force, and the only question was, whether a number of unoffending individuals should be dragged before the public, and made a prey to uneasiness and privation for the mere purpose of gratifying malignity and prying curiosity. In something of the same spirit was the attempt to make public the names of all fund-holders above a certain amount; and as a specimen of arbitrary feeling, there cannot be a better than the proposal to break in upon the sanctity of a private dwelling with "a vigour beyond the law."

The true spirit of reform delights only in the establishment of sound principles by sound means. It looks to final results from the gradual elevation of the public mind, and avoids all precipitate and violent measures. It takes down with caution, and builds up with a view to practical convenience. It has the common interest constantly before it, and seeks not a mere transference of advantages, by benefiting one party or set of men at the expense of another. Its object is the diffusion of good with the least possible evil, and it aims at the well-being of its opponents, equally with that of its friends.

> "The well-taught philosophic mind
> To all compassion gives,
> Casts round the world an equal eye,
> And feels for all that lives."

Unfortunately, though the true spirit of reform reigns in the breasts of many, it is not sufficiently strong to excite them to more than good wishes: almost all active reformers have been called forth by personal pique, or personal interest, and their career has been more or less tarnished by unworthy motives. Some, indeed, have made beginnings on pure principles; but as such avoid all appeal to the passions, they have not had patience to wait for the ascendency of reason, or resolution, or temper, to stand up against unprincipled opposition. They have had to combat, alone, against a host of foes, and it would require almost the zeal of an apostle to endure to the end. What Pope says, is still near the truth, though perhaps not quite so near as when he wrote:—

> "Truth would you teach, or save a sinking land,
> All fear, none aid you, and few understand."

The consequence is, reform advances with an unsteady step, upheld by party for party purposes, and mixed up with party vices. It is imperfectly brought about by conflicting interests, and so far only as suits the strongest.

In my opinion, the only mode of accomplishing real and permanent

reform is, by the thorough organization of self-governments. The present unwieldy system, I think, will constantly get out of order, and will, in the end, tend more to mischief than to good, inasmuch as it is by no means calculated to work to the top those who ought to be there. The best description of a reformer is to be found in Shakspeare's character of Brutus, at the end of his tragedy of Julius Cæsar:—

> "This was the noblest Roman of them all;
> All the conspirators, save only he,
> Did that they did in envy of great Cæsar;
> He only, in a general honest thought,
> And common good to all, made one of them.
> His life was gentle; and the elements
> So mix'd in him, that Nature might stand up,
> And say to all the world—This was a man!"

V. LIBERTY.

LIBERTY is a super-excellent thing, very much talked about, and very little understood, generally least of all by those who make the most noise about it; indeed, I should say, it is an unerring rule, that a noisy advocate for liberty is never a sincere one. Noise comes of ignorance, interest, or passion; but the true love of liberty dwells only in the bosoms of the pure and reasonable.

> "Licence they mean, when they cry liberty;
> For who loves that, must first be wise and good."

The vital maxim of the worshippers of liberty is the Christian one—Let us do unto others as we would they should do unto us; all else who profess their devotion, are tyrants in disguise, which disguise they throw off the moment they attain the power against which they have been exclaiming.

The essence of liberty is division and order, and its preserving principle, self-government. In proportion as this combination is perfect, the state of liberty will be perfect. The ignorant cannot keep this in view, and the designing will not; in consequence of which, instead of the re-adaptation of sound principles as circumstances require, they are frequently abandoned, and expedients of a contrary tendency introduced, sometimes with specious effect in the first instance, but with certain evil eventually.

The present times are peculiarly illustrative of this, in the desire manifested to adopt the centralization, and ochlocratic or mob principles.

The centralization principle is the exact opposite of the principle of division, under which last the nation grew to be what it is; and its increase requires a re-adaptation to continue its glory, instead of an abandonment to destroy it. The ochlocratic or mob principle, though it may appear to be founded on the principle of self-government, is virtually the reverse, and for this reason, that its tendency is to throw the management of affairs into the hands of a few, and those the most unworthy; whilst apathy and disgust keep the best as much aloof, as if they were by law excluded from interference. This is an inevitable result in the long run. It is witnessed continually in ochlocratically organized parishes and corporations, and has, from the first, been visible in different degrees in the new overgrown parliamentary constituencies. The excitement of the moment is producing a partial activity, but which is factitious, and not essential. The cumbrous machines will only be towed into action by party steamers, in the shape of clubs and associations, and, in ordinary times, will be completely water-logged, while corruption and misrule will gradually creep in undisturbed. It will require far more statesman-like contrivances to draw men from their business, their pleasure, and their ease, and induce them sufficiently to interest themselves in public affairs to keep public affairs in their proper course. The spirit of party will not accomplish this.

Zealots in liberty are apt to suppose that it consists entirely in independence of all government; that is, that the less power is lodged with government, the more freedom is left to the citizens. But the most perfect state of liberty consists in the most complete security of person and property, not only from government, but from individuals; and in this point of view, I apprehend, liberty is enjoyed to far greater extent in England than in any other country in the world. In this point of view, honesty and peaceable behaviour are essential to the enjoyment of liberty. Robbery, fraud, assassination, murder, assault, even exposure to duels, are all destructive of a state of liberty; and, taking exemption from these evils, as well as from any arbitrary interference on the part of government, I cannot doubt but that the balance is greatly in our favour, though we have great room for improvement. If in any other country there is greater security from individual invasion of person or property, it is enjoyed at an annoying and dangerous sacrifice of public liberty, for which there can be no compensation. Besides, as in despotic countries there is no publicity as there is in this, it is doubtful whether appearances are not often contrary to the reality.

For instance, it has latterly been discovered, contrary to all former supposition, that there are more suicides, in proportion to population,

in Paris than in London;* and I will add, though it has nothing to do with my subject, that there are more in London in July than in November, which is contrary to all former supposition also.

Whether a man has his pocket picked by a sharper, or by an oppressive impost; whether his plate or jewels are seized by an order of government, or are carried away by a housebreaker; whether his estate is cleared of its game by the king's purveyor, or by a gang of poachers; or whether he is confined to his house after a certain hour by a regulation of police, or by the fear of being robbed or murdered, —in neither predicament can he be said to enjoy perfect liberty, which consists in security of person and property, without molestation or restraint, provided there is no molestation or restraint of others.

To attain this liberty, strong government is necessary, but strong without being vexatious, and the only form is that which, in the true spirit of our constitution, consists of a simple supreme government, presiding over and keeping duly organized a scale of self-governments below it. It is by moral influence alone that liberty, as I have just defined it, can be secured, and it is only in self-governments that the proper moral influence exists. In proportion as the supreme government takes upon itself the control of local affairs, apathy, feebleness, and corruption will creep in, and our increasing wealth, which should prove a blessing, will only hasten our ruin. I refer those who interest themselves in this subject to the articles on the Principles of Government, and on Parochial Government.

MOBS.

I hate all mobs and tumultuary assemblies on one side or the other. They are the senseless instruments of party, the clumsy machinery by which imperfect government is carried on or opposed by imperfect politicians. They are in their very nature unlawful and unconstitutional, directly at variance with our free institutions, which are as much opposed to anarchy as to despotism. They are alternately encouraged from interest, or tolerated from fear. The following extract from a letter from Dr. Priestley to the people of Birmingham, after the riots of 1791, is strongly illustrative of what the mob spirit is capable; and that the progress of civilization has been able in no degree to assuage that spirit, Nottingham, Derby, and Bristol afford

* [Some years since when I made the calculation there were among the same number of persons five times as many suicides in Paris as in London; and it is especially worthy of remark that cases of double suicide, so rare in England, are of frequent occurrence in France.]

indisputable proofs in recent times. The Birmingham mob was on the Tory, the others on the Whig side.

"You have destroyed the most truly valuable and useful apparatus of philosophical instruments that perhaps any individual in this or any other country was ever possessed of, in my use of which I annually spent large sums, with no pecuniary view whatever, but only in the advancement of science for the benefit of my country and of mankind. You have destroyed a library corresponding to that apparatus which no money can re-purchase, except in a long course of time. But what I feel far more, you have destroyed *manuscripts* which have been the result of the laborious study of many years, and which I shall never be able to recompose; and this has been done to one who never did or imagined any harm."

[I could wish that the author had treated this interesting topic more fully. The vital importance of understanding and discouraging mobs will, I trust, justify me in here inserting a Dialogue which I contributed to "Politics for the People" in the critical year 1848. The dialogue is founded on facts which occurred at the time. It would have found a suitable place in the next section; for it deals incidentally with the twin vices, indiscriminate almsgiving, and mendicancy. But I prefer to place it where it stands.]

[MOBS AND THEIR RAW MATERIAL.]

A DIALOGUE BETWEEN TWO SPECIAL CONSTABLES AND A POLICEMAN.

(*Date, June* 1, 1848.)

"1*st Special.* Well, Policeman, we are just going to call on our captain, to explain our absence last night. We were both very innocently partaking of a good dinner, and when we reached home, found that we had been wanted. You had some rough work last night in Holborn?

Policeman. Yes, sir, we had—very. The rascals tried their hand at a barricade on Saffron Hill, but we got inside of it, and laid into them soundly.

2*nd Special.* You seem to have enjoyed it.

Pol. Yes, after a fashion. When we get at the scoundrels, we don't spare them. (Here he used some emphatic expressions, which we do not think it necessary to repeat.)

1*st Sp.* Nor they you, if I may judge by some of the accounts in the newspapers.

Pol. I have a right to say so, for one of the blackguards felled me

with a brickbat. (Here he raised his hat, and showed a very red swelling on the forehead.)

1st Sp. Thanks to that strong hat of yours, or that blow might have killed you, and you would have had the honour of dying by the hand of some Chartist patriot.

Pol. I don't covet that sort of martyrdom. But Chartist he was not. I know the fellow well. He is one of those idle vagabonds who would not work if he could be paid like a gentleman for it.

2nd Sp. How does he live, then?

Pol. Oh, he lives by begging and thieving! He preys on the public.

2nd Sp. That is his business; and fighting with you his recreation, eh?

Pol. Yes, you have exactly hit it.

1st Sp. to 2nd Sp. One of your friends, you see. You will soon be of my way of thinking about these beggars, and the folly (will you excuse me if I say sin?) of giving alms to them.

2nd Sp. I am beginning to think you are right. I am reforming by degrees, but I cannot always refuse.

1st Sp. Refuse them or yourself, which?

2nd Sp. You mean to say there is more of selfishness than of charity in not being able to refuse a beggar.

1st Sp. If you could say No to your own good nature, you could say No to the beggar.

2nd Sp. Do you think good nature a crime?

1st Sp. Certainly. It is very wrong to yield to a blind impulse of that sort.

Pol. I think I understand the gentleman; at all events, I agree with him to this extent, that if gentlemen did not give to beggars, we should have much less work to do.

1st Sp. Then the beggars give you a good deal of trouble?

Pol. The beggars and the thieves, for they are one and the same class, give us almost all the trouble we have. We have more rows with them than with all the labouring men, in or out of work, not excepting even the Chartists.

2nd Sp. Do you mean to say that the mobs which have been keeping you all on the alert lately are not Chartists?

Pol. There are Chartists among them, and some men out of work, and driven by distress into a sort of desperation, but the bulk of all mobs consists of idle vagabonds who would not work if they could—fellows who prefer to live by begging and pilfering.

1st Sp. What sort of men were they who were collected on Saffron Hill and on Clerkenwell Green?

Pol. Why, one fellow whom I heard spouting on the Green for full twenty minutes on the stretch, was just such a fellow as that (pointing to a professional who was passing at the time); and as for the bulk of the mob, they were not a bit more respectable than those ragged fellows you see going along there.

1*st Sp.* Are there any foreigners in the mobs?

Pol. Yes, plenty of foreign beggars. The toughest work we had yesterday, was to dislodge a dozen or so of Savoyards, who got together in a house in one of the narrow streets off Holborn, and kept up a constant volley with all sorts of things they could lay their hands upon.

1*st Sp. to* 2*nd Sp.* Some of your importations, you see.

2*nd Sp.* Why, what had I to do with them?

1*st Sp.* Did not you and your friends who patronize the beggars create the demand which these foreign vagabonds were brought over to supply? Men are sometimes very bitter against the importers of these musical pests; but the evil lies much deeper. It is dropping pence into the street that does it. The patrons of street beggars are the real importers.

2*nd Sp.* I see you are determined not to let me off. You return again and again to the charge.

1*st Sp.* Well, that is better than the sort of charges to which we shall have to return, if things go on as at present.

Pol. to 1*st Sp.* What you have been saying, sir, reminds me of many cases in which the beginning of a desperate row has been some beggar dead drunk at the expense of some rich dupe. There was one woman whom I particularly recollect. She was a regular beggar, that is to say, she lived by it, and lived better than half the honest working-men and women of London. She had heard of a good-natured rich gentleman at the west-end, who had given liberally to some of her fraternity; so she took off her shoes, which were none of the best, and went to his house with a cock-and-bull story, and got the old gentleman to give her five shillings to buy a pair of shoes. You, sir (addressing 1st Special), who seem to know something of these people, can easily imagine what she did with the money. She got beastly drunk, and kicked up such a row that she disturbed the whole neighbourhood. Three of us were obliged to carry her to the station-house, and many a scratch and bite we got. But that was not the worst of it; for the low fellows in her street came round us, and began to hoot at us, accusing us of cruelty, and soon came to blows with us. One of my mates got knocked down, and was carried off stunned; and it was not till we got assistance that we could get the fellows under, and carry the woman away; but the best of it was, that as we

were carrying her off, we met the old gentleman who had given her the money, and to whom she had given a wrong address in return, one or two streets from that in which she lived. I shall never forget how blank he looked. It must have been a lesson to him.

1st Sp. I hope it was; but this malady of indiscriminate alms-giving is not easily cured.

2nd Sp. You would cut up the whole system, root and branch.

1st Sp. Yes. I would do anything to eradicate it. I believe the mischief it does is almost incalculable. It is a premium on idleness; a promoter of drunkenness, falsehood, and theft; an encouragement to rags, filth, and disease; the parent of mobs, and the punishment of fools.

2nd Sp. Do you make no exceptions? Do you mean to say that we ought never to give to a beggar under any circumstances?

1st Sp. Yes. Emphatically yes—neither to beggar nor to street-sweeper, nor to any human being who is infected, in however slight a degree, with the taint of begging.

2nd Sp. But don't you think some of the beggars might starve?

1st Sp. Even if they did, that would not deter me; for the money given to the beggar starves the honest workman as it is. But surely the man who has brought himself to beg in the streets will not be much shocked if you politely refer him to the Union.

2nd Sp. But we must support him there.

1st Sp. Yes. But he will cost less by half than he does now. At least you save the gin he drinks.

2nd Sp. I have heard that we give *a million and a quarter sterling* every year to beggars.

1st Sp. I believe it.

Pol. Well, all I know is, that we should be very glad to be rid of them."

OFFICE OF CORONER.

The longer my experience and contemplation of our ancient political institutions, the greater is my admiration of the wisdom of their original principles, and the more ardent my desire to see their complete adaptation to present circumstances.

Amongst the offices derived from the common law, there is none more consonant with English principles, or which is calculated to be more efficient, than that of Coroner. He is elected by the freeholders, and acts only with the assistance of a jury. I think if the office were newly regulated, it would greatly promote the public welfare, and save a great deal of legislation, which can never produce equally beneficial results. The election at present is eminently exposed to the objection

alluded to in the article on parochial government, namely, "that the relation between the electors and the elected is too slight to make the electors sufficiently careful in their choice."

The coroner for a part of a county is elected by the freeholders of the whole, and consequently the majority, feeling no public interest in their votes, give them to serve private ends. This has led very much to the practice of making the office a provision for persons unsuccessful in their profession, and whom their friends spare no activity thus to disburthen themselves of. I do not say that it is by any means always so; but it certainly happens sufficiently often to degrade the office, and to give it a tone and influence below what its very important duties entitle it to.

The number of coroners, within my recollection, of inferior capacity and discretion, has always been very great, and I believe solely from the reason above assigned. The inferiority of coroners has naturally led to a corresponding inferiority of juries, except in very particular cases: a defect which the more enlightened must feel it difficult to overcome, on account of the established practice.

The frequently enormous and unnecessary expense of elections, too, must have tended to furnish a sort of justification for pecuniary laxity, quite inconsistent with impartial justice, and to which there are peculiarly strong temptations. The remedy for this defect in election is only to be found by confining the right of voting to the district over which the coroner is to preside, as lately contemplated, and by making each district of a reasonable extent. A higher class of coroners would no doubt produce a higher class of jurors, though the coroners do not select; but if that should not be the result, it might easily be accomplished by other means.

One circumstance, which renders the coroner's inquest much less beneficial than it is capable of being, is the practice of imposing nominal or trifling fines, by way of deodands. This practice, I apprehend, has arisen, in a great measure, from the deodand being payable to the King, or to his grantee, generally the lord of the manor. Such application is too remote in the first case, and unsatisfactory in the second; and therefore I think the rights of the Crown should be transferred, and those of individuals be purchased for the little they have become worth. If the fines were made payable to some public and local fund of acknowledged utility, the intention of imposing them, which is for the punishment and prevention of neglect, would not be frustrated, as it now is. The intention and the application would both be manifestly for the public benefit.*

* [Deodands were abolished by 9 and 10 Vict., c. 62, 1846.]

Notwithstanding the defects which have crept into the administration of the coroner's duties, I think, so far as crime has been concerned, inquests have, for the most part, been tolerably efficient; but that may be said to be almost the least important part, inasmuch as the same investigation may be made, and often is, by justices of the peace.

It is with reference to loss of life by accidents, that a new practice is more particularly required, and it is of more importance than perhaps at first sight may appear. The great majority of fatal accidents, I believe, would be found, if strictly investigated, to be the consequences, directly or indirectly, of neglect, or of culpable disregard of the interest of others, from parsimony, or some other selfish motive. If, then, in all cases of accidental death, a searching inquiry were entered into by a coroner of high character and great acuteness, assisted by intelligent and respectable jurors, and fines were imposed in proportion to the degree of blame discovered, a great improvement as to general safety and convenience must be the consequence. For instance, if it were found that the death of a labourer, by falling from a scaffold, might have been prevented by a better construction, and a moderate fine were imposed, with an intimation that any similar case would in future be probably more severely treated, self-interest would soon produce the required improvement in scaffolding. In the same manner, adequate fines for death by the overturning of coaches, or by improper driving, or from accidents in mines, or from any other cause, would ensure those precautions which would be productive of great additional security and convenience.

By making severe examples in cases of fatal accidents, the chances of accidents at all would be materially diminished, and this I think could in no way be so effectually accomplished as by the process of a coroner's inquest. It is a prompt inquiry by those who have the best means of judging, and the strongest inducements to do what is right.

I subjoin a passage from Blackstone's Commentaries, showing what kind of officer it was originally intended the coroner should be. With the latter part of the passage, notwithstanding the authority of Sir Edward Coke, I cannot agree, as I am of opinion that it is expedient that those who serve the public should be paid by the public.

"The coroner is chosen by all the freeholders in the county court, as by the policy of our ancient laws the sheriffs, and conservators of the peace, and all other officers were, who were concerned in matters that affected the liberty of the people. For this purpose there is a writ at common law for the election of coroner, in which it is expressly commanded the sheriff to cause such an one to be chosen as may be best qualified for the office; and in order to effect this the more surely, it was enacted by the statute of Westminster (in the time of Edward I.), that none but lawful and discreet knights should be chosen. But it

seems it is now sufficient if a man hath lands enough to be made a knight, for the coroner ought to have an estate sufficient to maintain the dignity of his office, and answer any fines that may be set upon him for his misbehaviour; and if he hath not enough to answer, his fine shall be levied on the county, as the punishment for electing an insufficient officer. Now, indeed, through the culpable neglect of gentlemen of property, this office has been suffered to fall into disrepute, and get into low and indigent hands; so that, although formerly no coroners would condescend to be paid for serving their country, and they were by the aforesaid statute of Westminster expressly forbidden to take a reward, under pain of a great forfeiture to the king, yet for many years past they have only desired to be chosen for the sake of their perquisites; being allowed fees for their attendance by the statute 3 Henry VII. c. i., which Sir Edward Coke complains of heavily, though since his time those fees have been much enlarged."*

PREFERMENT TO PLACE.

I have often wondered, both in reading history and in observing my own times, that there are so few examples of the worthy employment of patronage. It might be supposed the glory and the influence that would result from it to men in high place, would have made that the rule, which unfortunately for mankind is but the exception. "He that seeketh to be eminent amongst able men," says Lord Bacon, "hath a great task; but that is ever good for the public. But he that plots to be the only figure amongst ciphers, is the decay of a whole age." Of all the talents that could be possessed by men in power, surely that would be the noblest and most useful, which would enable them to avail themselves of the talents of others.

It is marvellous that the feeling of responsibility, that the consciousness of the destiny of millions being in their hands, that the love of the approbation of the wise and good, do not outweigh in the minds of kings and ministers all lesser considerations. It is natural to think that the very circumstance of being placed on what Bacon calls "the vantage ground to do good," would of itself inspire lofty ideas and comprehensive views; as grandeur of position in the physical world creates a corresponding elevation of mind, and a total forgetfulness of self. The influence of one man, however high his station, can but be trifling except through the medium of those below him, and his influence will be great and beneficial in proportion to the worthiness of

* [The author of "The Original" takes no note of an abuse much complained of in country parts, namely, the making the coroner's salary to depend on the number of inquests held.]

the channels through which it flows. Nothing would so effectually excite honourable ambition as the conviction that the road to preferment lay open to merit alone, and that every place would be bestowed, without other consideration, upon the person most fitted to fill it.

The adoption of such a system would be productive of the double advantage of a higher tone and more efficient service, and would put an end to that race of aspirants who use those arts to prevail which ought to ensure their defeat. Wise institutions and good laws are comparatively of little avail, without able and honourable men in the different degrees of office, and it is only by a regularly just disposal of preferment that the proper standard of purity and zeal will ever be established in the administration of the various branches of the public service. Individual instances of the preferment of the most worthy produce only partial and temporary benefit, and the tone of the class, in the long-run, ordinarily prevails. It is by a species of rivalry in well-doing that zeal is kept alive, and standing alone becomes wearisome and discouraging.

All patronage is a trust; and bestowing preferment unworthily is a violation of a trust, and the greater the unworthiness the greater the violation. It is not enough to prefer those who are fit; the choice should fall upon the most fit. It is not enough to choose from those who apply; the most meritorious should be sought out, and the preferment offered to them, not as matter of favour and obligation, but as something required to be accepted from a sense of public duty.

It is true, these are not the doctrines generally received; if they were, patronage would not so openly be made an instrument for creating undue influence, or upholding party; nor would the public service be so often sacrificed for the sake of making provision for relations, friends, and dependents; a system which, strange to say, has many advocates amongst those who think rightly on other points, and who have no immediate interest in perverting the truth.

In my opinion, there is nothing more deserving of reprobation in public men than abuse of patronage; because I think there is nothing more detrimental to the public welfare. It not only discourages existing merit, and prevents a further increase, but it encourages importunity, intrigue, servility, profligacy of principle, and many other base qualities which spread their pestiferous influence over society. It enables men in power to maintain themselves by other supports than that of public opinion, and surrounds them with a phalanx of hangers-on, who effectually deter the meritorious from even thinking of making their approach. Political reforms have done something, and may do more, towards diminishing the abuse of patronage; but what is chiefly wanted, is a higher moral tone, to scout every appointment that is not made upon the only sound principle of selecting the best fitted.

GIVING SECURITY.

Society is governed much more by false than by true principles; by expedients and substitutes rather than by sound rules. When abuse has arisen from the neglect of a principle, it is a very common error to abandon the principle, and adopt some expedient with reference to the particular abuse which is the beginning of endless botchery. There are very numerous instances of this both in the practice of government and in legislation. A true principle, if adhered to, has a self-adjusting power; a false one requires constant bolstering, and every quack has his nostrum.

There never was a period, probably, in the history of this country, when there was a greater tendency to wander from sound principles than at the present. The undoubted necessity for great changes has raised up a host of reformers, who think, because they can see abuses, that they can with equal facility see the proper remedies; but they appear to me, one and all, incapable, from the double disqualification of party blindness and want of elementary experience. . It is not often that I trouble myself about the lengthy debates in the two houses of parliament; but on two or three questions, which have been the objects of my particular attention, I have read everything that has been said on both sides, and I can say, without exaggeration, that I have been perfectly astonished at the general absence of accurate information and clear views, and I have often had occasion to doubt whether those who took my side of the question, or those who took the opposite, were the most deficient.

The reason of this I believe to be twofold; first, the want of schooling in the art and practice of government, which can never be supplied by information at second hand; and, secondly, because even with the purest and highest minded, according to the present standard, I fear zeal for some party end constantly predominates over that for the establishment of truth.

Nothing but the organization of local governments upon such principles as will induce the best qualified there to begin their training, will ever produce a race of sound legislators and practical statesmen. It is not in the nature of things that either minister or legislator should learn their business in office or in parliament; they are beginning where they ought to end. They should enter upon their career in a smaller field, and in closer contact with mankind. The minister should know from his own gradual experience, or he will ever be vague in his views, as well as in trammels to interested and narrow-minded underlings; and the legislator should draw from nearer sources than the

biassed and imperfect information to be obtained through committees and commissions, in which information, as far as I have seen, there is at least as much of falsehood as of truth.

Our leading men are formed very much upon the plan of making a general, by giving him at once the command of an army. To say that any man has great official and parliamentary experience, is ordinarily to say little more than that he is a tactician in trick and intrigue, and, in proportion, removed from the straightforward path of patriotism. However, the fault lies principally in the want of opportunity for preparation, owing to a system of overgrown government-in-chief, instead of a duly organized ascending scale.

Having wandered into these remarks, I will bring myself back to the subject proposed, by repeating my first sentences. Society is governed much more by false than by true principles; by expedients and substitutes rather than by sound rules. When abuse has arisen from the neglect of a principle, it is a very common error to abandon the principle and adopt some expedient with reference to the particular abuse. A strong illustration of this seems to me to be found in the practice of taking security from persons in public trusts of a pecuniary character—a practice, the reasonableness of which I have never heard even doubted; but let us see how it is likely that it operates. In my article on "Preferment to Place," I have observed, "It is not enough to prefer those who are fit; the choice should fall upon those who are most fit. It is not enough to choose from those who apply; the most meritorious should be sought out."

If this principle had been followed, the idea of requiring security would never have occurred. It would have been unnecessary, and would have been a degradation. But neglect of the principle induced a frequent violation of trusts, and the most prominent feature being a defalcation in accounts, the remedy applied had solely a reference to that, though it is not to be supposed that a public defaulter could originally have been very fit for his situation. The real remedy lay in an inquiry on each defalcation into the mode of appointment, and a demand on the part of the public of the enforcement of the principle I have above laid down.

The expedient of taking security has a tendency to lower still farther the standard of qualification, because the principal abuse being professed to be guarded against, greater carelessness as to general fitness will be the consequence, and though the public may be saved from pecuniary loss in particular instances, the class of servants will be deteriorated. They have other duties to perform besides receiving money; but, provided they can get security considered sufficient, those other duties will be comparatively little thought of by those who have to appoint. They will easily justify to themselves a bad appointment

with a good security. But if character were the only security it would be otherwise, and the public would have the chance of being well served in every particular.

Suppose a situation vacant where security is required, the most likely person to obtain it is some one with a large family, who, by improvidence or mismanagement, has become an unceasing burden to his connexions. They exert all their influence, and most strenuously, to get rid of him, and are quite willing to run the risk of finding him security, in order to relieve themselves from the present pressure. What chance has an independent man, who is a burden to nobody, with such a competitor? and what chance has the public of being considered? The meritorious are generally too backward in urging their claims, and it is not to be expected that their friends will be as zealous as the interested supporters of a hanger-on.

As I can conceive nothing much more irksome to a man of honest intentions and high feeling than to have to ask his friends to become his sureties, I believe that very circumstance has often prevented the most fitting applications; and, after all, the securities taken for the undeserving, when they have been recurred to, have often proved unavailing, or, on the other hand, have caused the ruin of innocent persons after a world of previous anxiety. There is also this evil in the system, that it frequently induces neglect in those whose place it is to see the punctual discharge of official duties; and their reliance upon the security produces the very inconvenience meant to be guarded against.

Though the practice of requiring security is undoubtedly not uniform in its evil operation, I believe its general tendencies to be—to encourage the improvident and mismanaging by opening to them situations of which otherwise they would have no chance—to promote jobbing among the connexions of such—to discourage merit, and to lower the value of character—to increase carelessness and corruption in the dispensation of patronage, and to defeat its own particular end by injuring the public service, instead of promoting it. The true principle is to make character the only security, and a few departures in practice would only work their own cure; but a departure from the principle produces a permanent deterioration.

CHARACTER THE BEST SECURITY.

"I owe my success in business chiefly to you," said a stationer to a paper-maker, as they were settling a large account; "but let me ask how a man of your caution came to give credit so freely to a beginner with my slender means?" "Because," replied the paper-maker, "at whatever hour in the morning I passed to my business, I always observed you without your coat at yours." I knew both parties.

Different men will have different degrees of success, and every man must expect to experience ebbs and flows; but I fully believe that no one in this country, of whatever condition, who is really attentive, and, what is of great importance, who lets it appear that he is so, can fail in the long-run. Pretence is ever bad; but there are many who obscure their good qualities by a certain carelessness, or even an affected indifference, which deprives them of the advantages they would otherwise infallibly reap, and then they complain of the injustice of the world. The man who conceals or disguises his merit, and yet expects to have credit for it, might as well expect to be thought clean in his person, if he chose to go covered with filthy rags. The world will not, and cannot in great measure, judge but by appearances, and worth must stamp itself, if it hopes to pass current even against baser metal.

GOLDSMITHS' HALL.

On Wednesday last I was shown over the new Hall of the ancient and wealthy City Company of Goldsmiths, when it was in a complete state of preparation for the opening dinner. It is not my intention to say more of its architectural merits than to express my full agreement with the general opinion, that it exhibits an extraordinary union of magnificence, good taste, and comfort. It is in a political and moral point of view that I am going to consider it—as one of the institutions in accordance with my ideas of free, efficient, and enjoyable government. I have long entertained great admiration for the constitution of the government of the City of London, and I believe to that constitution we are greatly indebted for the preservation of our liberties through so many ages. Not only on many critical occasions have the citizens stood forth the sturdy champions of political rights, but it can scarcely be doubted that apprehension of their power has not frequently prevented arbitrary measures from having been even meditated. Such a citadel, always well garrisoned, and, what is of no small consequence, always well *provisioned*, close to the seat of government, cannot have been without the most influential effects. The circumstances, too, of the King himself not entering the City without first being announced to the Lord Mayor at the gate, and of no soldiers being allowed to be introduced without consent, have been outworks not without use—especially the latter, because it has enabled spirited magistrates to furnish examples of the superiority of moral influence over physical force in quelling disturbances. The strength of the City has depended both upon the union and the division of its government—upon its union under the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, the Court of Common Council, and the Livery; upon its division into wards and companies, though the latter may be considered as only collateral, but still very

important. The union has produced unity of action and influence—the division has produced discipline, and that confidence which arises from a habit of consulting and acting together in compact bodies, without which everything is vague and mob-like. The reasons why the City government has not exhibited all the advantages of which it appears capable, I apprehend to be twofold; first, because the boundaries have not from time to time been extended, in like manner as the Romans were wont to extend their city boundaries, as population and wealth increased; and secondly, for want of local improvement, which has gradually driven away the higher classes of inhabitants, so that City honours have had a continual tendency to fall into lower and lower hands.

In other parts of the country the machinery and splendour of local government are quite inadequate to what is wanted; in the City it is the reverse, and there is consequently a waste, upon a population diminishing both in number and quality, of what would suffice for far more extended purposes. The City is like an ancient mansion kept up in all its former splendour, after it has become so inconvenient that the best members of the family will no longer live in it; and, consequently that which would amply supply their wants is lavished upon less worthy objects, and for inadequate ends. It is an establishment much larger and more expensive than the locality requires, and those who are called citizens are for the most part no longer really such, but out-lying members and foreigners, who attach themselves for what they can get, without having any corresponding duties to perform, or any substantial interests to connect them.

If government and the means of government were made co-extensive, the benefits would be great in all ways. The distinctions, wealth, and various advantages pertaining to the City, in the different ramifications of its government, would be increased in attraction by diffusion, instead of being inconveniently confined to a limited district of crowded or narrow streets, thronged with business, and deserted as to residence by the chief persons who have occasion to attend there.

The City companies, which were originally so many brotherhoods for the protection of different trading interests, have become in these times, I apprehend, nearly useless in that view; but as social bodies, governing themselves, I consider them of high importance, and as so many strongholds of freedom, if it were seriously attacked. They give a community of interest, they increase each individual member's stake in the country, they create aggregate power, and a brotherly and social feeling, forming altogether solid bulwarks to the body politic.

I have already alluded to the importance of the City being well provisioned; and although City feasting is often a subject of joke, and is no doubt sometimes carried to excess, yet I am of opinion that

a great deal of English spirit is owing to it; and that as long as men are so often emboldened by good cheer, they are in no danger of becoming slaves. The City halls, with their feasts, their music, and their inspiriting associations, are so many temples of liberty; and I only wish that they could be dispersed through the metropolis, and have each a local government attached in proportion to the means of the establishment. Then would there be objects worthy of the highest intelligence, united with social attractions; and improvement in government might be expected to become steadily progressive.

ISCARIOTISM.

A single and apt expression for an important combination of ideas has great convenience and efficacy. It prevents confusion, and tends to establish truth and right. It furnishes a distinctive mark for what is good or bad, for what is worthy of honour or dishonour. A pretended zeal for the welfare of others, for the purpose of basely promoting one's own, I term Iscariotism.

Then took Mary a pound of ointment of spikenard, very costly, and anointed the feet of Jesus, and wiped his feet with her hair. Then saith one of his disciples, Judas Iscariot, Why was not this ointment sold for three hundred pence, and given to the poor? This he said, not that he cared for the poor; but because he was a thief, and had the bag, and bare what was put therein.

It was Iscariotism that Dr. Johnson meant, when he said, in allusion, I believe, to Wilkes, that patriotism was the last resource of a scoundrel.

Patriotism is pure gold; Iscariotism its base counterfeit.

The prevalence of Iscariotism is a reflection upon the constitution or administration of any government, because it cannot exist but where there is weakness or corruption. Vigour and purity are quite fatal to it. It thrives under the oligarchic and ochlocratic principles, but withers to nothing under the democratic, in the sense in which I use that term. It lives by being paid by the many, or bought by the few, and its course is determined by the highest bidding. Its real character is gross selfishness; its assumed, disinterested zeal; its means of succeeding, falsehood and impudence.

Besides political, there are charitable Iscariots, who serve their own ends by a busy interference in public institutions. Their real character is selfishness also; their assumed, extraordinary philanthropy and liberality; their means of success, plausibility and cunning.

Besides selfishness, Iscariots, political and charitable, have this in common, that they aim to keep those they affect to befriend, in a constant state of dependence.

NATIONAL EXTRAVAGANCE AND ECONOMY.

When a spendthrift sees his error he generally becomes a miser. Few indeed are the instances where extravagance is converted into a well-ordered generous expenditure; and it is with nations as with individuals. When the war was commenced with revolutionary France, it was supposed by its advocates that it would be terminated in six weeks. Upon that supposition, calculation of course was not worth attending to, and though the contest was continued with a short interval for twenty years,* the spirit of profusion with which it was begun never abated. I shall not enter into any detail of the many reasons which induced the rulers of the day to think only of spending as much money as could by possibility be raised. They did, in fact, pursue that course, and when the struggle was over, great national exhaustion succeeded, made far greater and of much longer duration by those who thought it their policy unceasingly to exaggerate our difficulties; for the consequence was, each interest affected was taught to look to the State for relief, instead of to their own energies and prudence, which would long since have brought them completely through; but then that would not have served party purposes, in comparison with which, in the eyes of politicians, the national welfare is as nothing.

I recollect that soon after the conclusion of the war, when all sense of danger was over, and whilst the applications of the tax-gatherer were undiminished, a very general desire for a more economical system was rising up, and it must have become irresistible, but for the hasty, selfish proceedings of demagogues and crude reformers, who created alarm, and thereby diverted public attention to the public safety. I think it was on occasion of a foolish meeting at Manchester, called the Blanketteer Meeting, that ten thousand men were added to the army.

I have already shortly expressed my opinion against mob assemblies, called by many safety-valves, and often supposed to be the guardians of liberty, but, according to my view, the most efficient friends of abuses in government. I intend on some future occasion to take up the subject more at length.

To return—the obstinate and ill-judged resistance of the party in power to all retrenchment, caused it to be forced upon them, on principles and in a tone quite below the character and the interests of a great nation, which tone and principles, if they remain in their present force, must of necessity destroy public spirit, and create, with individual wealth perhaps, individual selfishness, baseness, and corruption.

* [From first to last 22 years, with 20½ years of actual warfare, at a cost of 630 millions of pounds.]

During the war, the tone of the government was that of energy and extravagance, and that of the governed became the same. A corresponding effect must be expected now; and would take place also, if the nation's affairs were conducted with spirit and generosity. A minimum in expenditure will produce a minimum in other things of more consequence; and in elevation of thought, we seem to be on the road to merit the appellation which has been bestowed upon us, of a nation of shopkeepers, and for the benefit of what class the change would be, I am utterly at a loss to discover. I will conclude my observations with an extract from Burke, who did not forget the statesman in the reformer, and I beg my reader's attention to his description of Parsimony, as being particularly applicable to some of the retrenchers of the present day.

"When a cold penury blasts the abilities of a nation, and stunts the growth of its active energies, the ill is beyond all calculation. Mere parsimony is not economy. Expense, and great expense, may be an essential part in true economy. Economy is a distributive virtue, and consists, not in saving, but in selection. Parsimony requires no providence, no sagacity, no powers of combination, no comparison, no judgment. Mere instinct, and that not an instinct of the noblest kind, may produce this false economy in perfection. The other economy has larger views. It demands a discriminating judgment, and a firm, sagacious mind. It shuts one door to impudent importunity, only to open another and a wider, to unpresuming merit. If none but meritorious service or real talent were to be rewarded, this nation has not wanted, and this nation will not want, the means of rewarding all the service it ever will receive, and encouraging all the merit it ever will produce. No State, since the foundation of society, has been impoverished by that species of profusion." Burke might have gone much further, and have said that any State which should indulge in such species of profusion, would be incalculably enriched by it, both pecuniarily and morally.

SILVER THREEPENCES AND FOURPENCES.

I have often thought it would be very advantageous in our daily money transactions to have some silver coins of smaller value than sixpence. In pursuing the subject I have come to the conclusion, that it would be beneficial in three ways, and to a more considerable extent than I at first supposed. First, it would greatly increase small traffic, to the convenience of buyers and the profit of sellers. Copper money is both disagreeable and cumbersome, and, to avoid carrying it, we continually abstain from laying out trifling sums, to the privation of many little enjoyments and comforts.

It is hardly necessary to mention instances. They occur constantly, in passing along the streets, in travelling, and, in short, in much of our every-day intercourse; so that at the end of the year both we, and those with whom we should deal, are considerable losers. How often would a biscuit or an orange be grateful and wholesome! but the nuisance of fivepence is a general bar to the purchase, and the same with a multitude of twopenny and threepenny matters. How often, to avoid the weight and jingle of copper, do we avoid, or stop short of a turnpike!

The second advantage would be the more accurate regulation of prices and payments, which is of no small consequence in our daily dealings. How many articles are charged sixpence, or a shilling, when they could be well afforded much cheaper, merely for the convenience of payment! Consequently, the traffic is very much diminished by a natural repugnance to give more than the value; or if the purchase is made, it is accompanied by a certain degree of dissatisfaction, which takes off from the enjoyment. Not only is cheapness an inducement to buy, but all prudent people like to have value received.

On the other hand, for the same convenience of payment, the price is necessarily sometimes fixed too low, to the loss of the seller. At the great clubs, where no article is served for less than sixpence, double the quantity wanted is often given, or nothing at all is charged. The consequence is, a restraint on the consumption of many extras, or a loss to the general account.

The want of smaller coins is a great drawback to the frequent use of cabs, and the same may be said perhaps of boats on the Thames. People do not like to be constantly paying an over-price, or to be encumbered with pence, to the great detriment of these callings; for though sometimes too much is paid, far more frequently employment is altogether lost.

The third advantage would be in the regulation of gratuities for small services, such as to waiters, or porters at inns, on occasions where sixpence is beyond reason too much, or to horse-holders in the streets; and here those employed are either paid extravagantly, or not at all, or their services are refused. Every one must have experienced again and again the annoyance of applications for gratuities, which it is difficult equitably to make payment of, and the consequent dissatisfaction of one party or the other, or perhaps of both.

The instances I have given of the inconvenience of the want of small coins are only by way of specimens, but others will easily suggest themselves.

In conclusion, I am of opinion that an abundant supply of silver threepences or fourpences would materially increase the profits of many small branches of trade, and of various humble callings—that it would

contribute much to the convenience and contentment of those who have purchases to make, or services to requite, and that any expense of coinage would be far more than counterbalanced by an increase of revenue, from an increase of traffic. I say nothing of the effect it would have upon casual charity, because I am decidedly opposed to the practice; but its greatest merit in my eyes is, that it would improve the market for honest industry.

The following table will show, that by means of a supply of threepenny and fourpenny pieces, any sum, not involving the fraction of a penny, might be paid without the intervention of copper. For the information of those unacquainted with algebraical signs, the sign + signifies with the addition of; − signifies less by; and =, equal to. Thus, 8 + 2 − 3 = 7 signifies that 8, with the addition of 2, and less by 3, is equal to 7.

d. *d.* *d.*	*d.* *d.* *d.* *d.*
4 − 3 = 1	6 + 4 + 4 = 14
6 − 4 = 2	12 + 3 = 15
12 − 4 − 3 = 5	12 + 4 = 16
4 + 3 = 7	12 + 4 + 4 − 3 = 17
4 + 4 = 8	12 + 4 + 3 = 19
6 + 3 = 9	12 + 4 + 4 = 20
6 + 4 = 10	12 + 6 + 3 = 21
4 + 4 + 3 = 11	12 + 6 + 4 = 22
6 + 4 + 3 = 13	12 + 12 + 3 − 4 = 23

[CAB-FARES.]

I here insert as a small matter of finance what I believe to have been the original suggestion for the alteration in cab-fares subsequently legalized. It was made in *Fraser's Magazine* in 1849, under the title of *A New Cab-tariff*.

"As nine hundred and ninety-nine people in every thousand actually pay one shilling for the first mile when they hire a cab, it would be much better if that were made a regular legal charge, and instead of eightpence a-mile for all after the first, the more convenient sum of sixpence. . . . If any distance over a complete mile were charged sixpence, and one shilling for the first mile became a legal fare, the cabdriver would have no right to complain. . . . This reform would tend greatly to the comfort of travellers."

A suggestion was added that all distances should be reckoned as the crow flies, each cab being furnished with an authorized map and pair of compasses. A more comprehensive plan, worked out in detail, has since been suggested.

PART IV.

SOCIAL SCIENCE.

COMPRISING—

I. *INDUSTRIAL ECONOMICS.*

II. *POVERTY AND PAUPERISM, POOR LAWS AND PRISON DISCIPLINE.*

III. *CHARITY, TRUE AND FALSE.*

I. POVERTY AND PAUPERISM. POOR LAWS AND PRISON DISCIPLINE.

POVERTY AND PAUPERISM.

I GIVE the following extract from my pamphlet on Pauperism, on account of the distinction drawn between Poverty and Pauperism, and for the sake of correcting certain erroneous notions connected with the two:

"In order to exhibit pauperism in its strongest colours, suppose an extensive and fertile parish, with an unusual number of wealthy residents with large woods, much game, a facility of smuggling, two or three commons, several almshouses, endowments for distributing bread and clothes, and much private charity; and suppose the rich to take no further concern in parochial affairs than alternately to grumble at the amount of a rate, or the harshness of an overseer, as application is made to them for their money, or for their protection. Under such circumstances the spirit of pauperism will be at its height: and yet people who should know better will be found to hold such language as this: 'I don't know how it is the rates in this parish are so high; we are particularly well off for provision for the poor; there are almshouses, and regular distributions of food and clothes; they have all common rights, at least they all take them; they pick up fuel for nothing—I am sure they are never out of my woods; they smuggle

almost everything they want; and then private charity is really quite unbounded; and yet I can't say I see much gratitude in return; the damage done to property is immense, and the expense and vexation about game completely destroy all the pleasure of it. I often wish I had not a bird or a hare on my estate. Really it is in vain to do anything for the poor; indeed, I think the more pains one takes, the worse they are. Lord —— gave them an ox to roast last King's birthday, and they absolutely pulled down his park paling to make the fire.'*

"For poverty put pauperism, and for charity indiscretion, and all will be explained. Giving to pauperism is only 'spreading the compost on the weeds to make them ranker.'

"It is of the utmost importance accurately to distinguish between poverty and pauperism; for by confounding them, poverty is dishonoured and pauperism countenanced. Supply poverty with means and it vanishes, but pauperism is the more confirmed. Poverty is a sound vessel empty, but pauperism is not only empty but cracked. Poverty is a natural appetite, merely wanting food—pauperism a ravenous atrophy, which no food can satisfy. Poverty strives to cure itself—pauperism to contaminate others. Poverty often stimulates to exertion—pauperism always paralyzes. Poverty is sincere—pauperism is an arch-hypocrite. Poverty has naturally a proud spirit—pauperism a base one, now servile, now insolent. Poverty is silent and retiring—pauperism clamorous and imposing; the one grateful, the other the reverse. There is much that is alluring in poverty, but pauperism is altogether hateful. It is delightful to succour the one, and irksome to be taxed for the other. Poverty has the blessing of heaven as well as those who relieve it—pauperism, on the contrary, has nothing in common with the Christian virtues.

"St. Paul has described the spirit of pauperism, and given his decided opinion upon it. '*Neither did we eat any man's bread for naught; but wrought with labour and travail night and day, that we might not be chargeable to any of you, to make ourselves an example unto you to follow us. For even when we were with you, this we commanded—that if any would not work, neither should he eat. For we hear that there are some which walk among you disorderly, working not at all, but are busy bodies. Now those that are such we command and exhort by our Lord Jesus Christ, that with quietness they work and eat their own bread.*'

"Indeed the injunctions of Christianity are wholly in opposition to the spirit of pauperism; and the merit of those institutions which

* This actually happened a few years since.

serve to encourage, and of those individuals who thoughtlessly succour it, may be estimated accordingly.

"In such a parish as that above described, the ample fund capable of being raised, and, from its supposed management, necessarily abused, would alone induce an over-population, and the charitable endowments and private largesses would powerfully contribute to the same end: besides which are to be taken into the account the pauperized habits produced by poaching, smuggling, and gathering fuel, and by the barbarizing privileges of common-rights. Increase the supposed advantages of such a place, and pauperism will increase in the same or in a greater proportion. How vain from such a population to expect gratitude for favours, or respect for property! *Do men gather grapes from thorns, or figs from thistles?* Idle and lawless habits and abandoned principles can be the only fruits. They alone are in their hearts grateful for assistance, who are really striving for themselves—the traveller fainting on his journey, and not the beggar by the wayside."

[Though I have retained the word *Pauperism* in the heading of the preceding article, I should myself prefer the word *Destitution;* for pauperism naturally involves the idea of a state growing out of a poor-law, and one more or less demanding assistance from the rates. In other words, I look on the state of pauperism as one comprising several orders or sub-classes, grouped under the principal class, Destitution. I deem this distinction of terms so important, and the two states themselves so necessary to be understood by all who aim at improving the condition of the mass of the people, that I make no apology for presenting the contrast made by the author with so much skill and truth, under a modified title and in other words. I take the extract from my last Inaugural Address as President of the Statistical Society.]

[POVERTY AND DESTITUTION.]

"*Poverty* I take to be a something decent, retiring, modest, respectable, far removed from luxury, but no stranger to humble household comforts, nor to the nameless refinements that cluster round industry, cleanliness, and thrift; shrinking from dependence, not through pride, but from a deep abiding sense of the duty and dignity of honest labour, and yet gratefully accepting such occasional aid as its precarious condition may render necessary; cherishing health and every wholesome habit as its friend, fearing disease as its worst foe, holding education, and knowledge, and morality, and religion, in respect—a something which I know not that a wise man would wish to see exchanged for a condition of ease and affluence.

"But, on the other hand, there is a poverty (if we insist on retaining the word) which is ragged, filthy, and squalid, the companion of idleness, misconduct, and crime—a poverty to which the most common comforts and decencies of life are unknown; which has substituted for that forethought and care for the future, which every lesson of our life teaches us, an utter indifference and recklessness; a poverty which accepts assistance without gratitude, and squanders bounty without remorse, which is most difficult of access for any purpose of improvement, physical, moral, or religious—in a word, the most hopeless of conditions. This is *destitution*, this is that *penury and want of things* which the judicious author of the 'Ecclesiastical Polity' recognised as the great barrier, the first impediment, set up against reformation and improvement."

PAUPERISM.

I shall continue from time to time, as long as they last, to give such extracts from my pamphlet on "Pauperism," as I think will contribute to instil sound doctrines on the subject into the minds of my readers.

"Though the sum annually raised on account of pauperism is so large, yet in any ordinary period, the amount of real pauperism is probably much less than is supposed; and of that amount a large proportion is directly produced by the certain anticipation of a provision from the parish. The expenses of management and of litigation, and indeed all the expenses of the system, except the money laid out for the actual maintenance of paupers, may here be put out of the question, because, if the latter could be dispensed with, the former would cease of course.

"A pauper, in the strict sense of the word, is one, who, being without property, and unable by his labour to support himself and those legally dependent upon him, and having no competent friends compellable or willing to help him, is forced to resort to the parish for relief. From the number of real paupers, then, are to be excepted, 1st, The few who have property, but conceal it, some of whom, from miserly habits, receive relief for many years; 2ndly, The more numerous class, with competent friends, who would willingly assist them, but do not choose to save the parish; 3rdly, The large class who successfully feign inability to perform or procure labour; 4thly, All those who by any other species of imposition, or by abuse on the part of their friends, wrongfully participate in the parish fund; and lastly, the more prudent portion of the immense number, who, whilst in full employ, receive a part of their maintenance from the poor's rates, which portion, if they were not remunerated in so degrading a mode, would learn immediately to depend upon themselves.

"So far as the classes above enumerated are concerned, no inconvenience would result from the immediate abolition of the Poor Laws. With respect to those who are really paupers, but who have become so from the certain anticipation of a provision from the parish, there may be reckoned, 1st, Those to whom property has at some period of their lives come, but who have wilfully run through it, in consequence of their habits having been previously formed according to the low standard of the Poor Laws; 2ndly, The numerous class who have had opportunities of accumulating, but who have wasted their means with a fixed determination eventually to have recourse to the parish; 3rdly, Those whose determined pauper habits have disgusted their friends, or made them lose opportunities of making some; 4thly, Those who have incapacitated themselves from labour by dissolute habits, contracted from a reliance on parochial assistance; 5thly, Those (and a numerous class they are) who, from perverseness of temper, have wilfully brought themselves upon the parish; 6thly, Those who married from a reliance on the rates; 7thly, Hereditary paupers: in country places, especially where there are no great changes, it will often be found that the principal part of the poor's rates is paid to a few families, who have been in the habit of depending upon them from the remotest periods to which the accounts go back, and who think they have acquired as good a title to the parish fund as the land-owners have to their estates; lastly, Those who have been persuaded by other paupers to pauperise themselves.

"I have not enumerated these different classes from theoretical inference, but from practical observation; and it is obvious, that so far as they are concerned, the Poor Laws might, without inconvenience, be made to cease with the next generation.

"Amongst the various means of reducing pauperism, it is highly desirable that its true nature should become as generally understood as possible, in order that it may meet with more discouragement than has hitherto been given to it. It is to be wished, that the magistrates would not so frequently inculcate the doctrine of reliance upon the overseer, in the various cases of distress and difficulty presented before them—that the affluent and humane would not incautiously encourage applications to the parish, and, on the plausible statements of the applicants, take part with them against those whose duty it is to be strict—that the employers of labourers would not, for the sake of a partial and temporary saving, assist in pauperising their workmen, who are sure to repay them with idleness, dishonesty, and refractoriness; that political partisans would not deceive the labouring classes, by holding out to them that they are *forced* into a state of dependence by misrule and oppression; and lastly, that the prudent part of those

classes would not stand aloof from sympathy or fear, but would heartily unite against the spirit of pauperism, as the worst of all possible enemies to their nearest interests.

"There can be no humanity in the poor-laws: if wages are not sufficient, they are only paying what is due in a degrading and cruel manner; if wages are sufficient, they are a provision held out beforehand to improvidence and all its desolating evils. *Nothing can permanently better the condition of the working classes but an increase of prudence.* Any improvement in means would be wasted, or worse than wasted, unless there should be a corresponding improvement of habits. How could a reduction of taxation, or a diminution in the price of corn, permanently benefit those who become idle and profligate as the means of living become easy, or what better is a man in the end for being able to gain as much in four days as he gained in six, if he only works in proportion, or wastes his money as fast as he gets it?

"It is lamentable, but true, that to the improvident population of large towns, and to the pauperised labourers of most of the agricultural districts, any facilities for maintaining themselves, beyond drudging for the bare necessaries of life, only make them work the less and multiply the faster. Of providing any resources for casualties, or for old age, they have no idea; and it is this state of things which makes it so generally believed, that the poor-laws' system cannot be dispensed with.

"Those who hold this opinion do not look to a sufficiently high standard; they see that improvidence is the present characteristic of the labouring classes, and that the improvident, as a body, will not labour unless compelled by necessity: therefore it is concluded that the bulk of mankind must be kept on the verge of necessity, or that the requisite labour will not be performed. But the most efficiently industrious are those who, having fixed their minds upon securing comfort and independence, are constantly intent on the means; and there is no reason in the nature of things, why the requisite habits should not be made as prevalent as the opposite ones are now.

"In populous towns and manufacturing districts, where the fluctuations in wages are greater than in the country, as well as the numbers affected, it may seem at first sight that parochial provision is indispensable; but, in fact, that provision mainly contributes to cause the fluctuations. In ordinary times there constantly exists a surplus population; for it cannot be doubted but that the working classes might be more prudent and industrious, and consequently that a smaller number would be sufficient to perform the labour required. The lowest in degree are always in a partial state of pauperism, and the greater portion of the remainder upon the verge of it.

"If from any cause the value of labour materially decreases there

is no resource but the parish, and production is continued with the aid of that artificial support, so that wages are forced lower and lower; and when the demand for labour would naturally have returned to its former standard it is prevented by the extra production, and the industrious and prudent labourer is for some time deprived of the benefit he ought to have received. When demand for labour falls below the average, the improvident part of the working classes are the most turbulent and clamorous, and the readiest tools in the hands of the factious and designing. When the demand for labour rises above the average they become, in the proportion that wages advance, idle, dissolute, and difficult to manage. The first fruits of improvidence, when soured by bad seasons, are riot and sedition; when ripened by prosperity, extravagance profligacy and combination.

"If the working classes were to become as prudent as they have hitherto been the reverse, many of them would render themselves quite independent of labour, and almost all partially so; then, when the demand for labour should fall below the average, they would keep withdrawing in proportion to their means till the demand returned to its former standard. If it rose above the average those who had become independent would return to labour, or would remain at it, as the additional remuneration tempted them, till the extra demand ceased, or, if permanent, till it was met by increased population; and this is the state in which labour would be the cheapest and most satisfactory.

"Though a provident population must have more resources than an improvident one, yet it will be much more difficult to form or keep up combinations amongst them. The interest of each individual is more distinct, and therefore not so easily drawn into the mass; every man is calculating his own gradual advance, and will not readily make a certain sacrifice for an uncertain benefit; he is in a state of progressive comfort, from which it is difficult to disturb him, and his prudence and constant occupation make him little liable to become the dupe of the designing.

"The life of the improvident, on the contrary, is an alternation of privation and indulgence, and they are ever ready to undergo the former for the chance of the latter; they listen and become a prey to the plausible and artful, to whose designs uneasiness and credulity constantly expose them. They have no fixed purpose or ultimate aim to keep them steady, and their individual interest being worth little to them, they are very willing to throw it into the general stock, and make common cause with those who have as little to lose as themselves. A prudent population is the best calculated to resist unjustifiable aggression, and an improvident one to commence it.

"The Poor Laws had originally, comparatively speaking, only to

provide for individual cases of pauperism—now occasionally for immense masses. Their tendency to keep the operatives of populous districts so near the verge of pauperism, has the following effects:—when the demand for labour is small, distress is great, and the pressure on the rates heavy; when the demand increases, industry becomes general, till the ordinary wants of the labouring classes, according to their low standard, are tolerably supplied, and then idleness and extravagance commence. The quantity of labour performed, in proportion to numbers, keeps decreasing, as the demand for it rises; the surplus population, everywhere more or less existing, is drawn progressively towards the places where the demand for labour is the greatest, whilst what is taken away is speedily in course of being more than supplied. Speculation begins to rage, idleness increases, numbers make up the difference, a glut ensues, speculators are ruined, production stops, confidence is destroyed, complete stagnation follows. The labourers have provided no resources, but fall back upon that provision which they have always had their eyes upon; the claimants are so much increased, that other funds are obliged to be called in aid, till distress has somewhat reduced population, and there has been time to consume the over-production, and then in a few years the same destructive course comes round again.

"This state of things is equally pernicious to the employer and employed; it favours speculation in the one and debasement in the other, to the ruin of both. If the labouring classes were in a considerably higher state of advancement, the results would be very different: the profits of trade and the wages of labour would be more regular. When the demand for labour increased, it would be more slowly supplied, and of course would be more permanent. When it diminished, a portion of the labourers would retreat upon their own resources. An increased demand for labour would only be met by the increased industry of those already engaged, by the return of those who had retired, by the comparatively scanty supply to be drawn from a distance, and by the slow progress of increased population—a diminished demand would be met by the increased resources of the labouring class. Fluctuations could scarcely be considerable, or productive of any great inconvenience; commerce would proceed less by fits and starts, and speculation would give way to a more regular and healthy system. As the same moral advance took place in other parts of the world, the effect would be more and more beneficial."

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"If there were no poor rates, but more prudence, and wages were sufficiently high to enable the labourer to provide for old age, and to

bring up decently the average number of children, allowing for the ordinary casualties, then where there were more than the average number of children, or extraordinary casualties, the resources would be a certain degree of privation, and, beyond that, the voluntary assistance of those around.

"Where there is general comfort, a few cases of poverty, (not pauperism,) so far from being considered burdensome, are not only cheerfully but eagerly relieved. These are the legitimate objects of charity and as they excite the kindly affections, and repay them with gratitude, they tend to increase the general stock of virtue and happiness. But the Poor Laws, by serving to debase the one class, and to make the other believe such debasement inevitable, greatly retard any material improvement. They keep up a race of paupers even under the most favourable circumstances. There is at least a skeleton regiment in every parish; a few gin-drinking, canting old women, two or three dissolute fellows, with a show of infirmity to excuse them from work—a half knave, half fool, with his attendant train of ragged urchins—besides sundry loose characters, who alternately enlist and desert, as the humour takes them and the times permit.

"This corps, ever ready on emergency to be filled to its complement, is kept constantly exercised in a predatory warfare on the squire's game, the farmer's fences, his wife's poultry, and every petty pillageable article; for which services, besides their regular pay, they obtain contributions from the poor, and pensions from the rich. Every Monday morning, old Betty Tomkins sets off to receive her shilling from the vicarage and toddles home with her pockets full of oddments,* and her apron full of sticks, invoking the Lord to bless every one she meets. Lame Nathan occasionally hobbles his rounds amongst the little farmers, to pick up his dinner, and anything else he can lay his hands upon, with the character of being 'a willing fellow if he could but work.' For the better maintenance of this corps perhaps an establishment is kept up—a barrack-master and surgeon—then stores are to be laid in, and petty interests are created at the expense of the general.

"It is the nature of pauperism to infect; it is the study of paupers

* I once had an argument with a well-known divine on the prevalence of pilfering, which he denied. Whilst I was on a visit at his house some time after, and after this pamphlet was published, he observed a woman, who had been called in from the village to assist in his family during the illness of one of the servants, going away in the evening with very swollen pockets. He called her back, and the contents were exhibited in my presence. They consisted of a large heap of fragments of bread, toasted and untoasted, a broken phial, an old housewife, a goose's pinion, and half a carrot.

to make converts. Experience teaches them that it is the tendency of numbers to increase their pay, and decrease their degradation. By numbers they overawe and tire out those whose interest it is to control them: by numbers they diminish the examples of independent exertion. They are consequently assiduous in every art of recruiting their ranks, and preventing desertion. *It is little known by what persuasion, threats, derision, and intrigue, many healthy spirits are corrupted, and how many by the same means are prevented from emancipating themselves.* As long as there is a permanent fund, it will be so. Temporary efforts may produce temporary reductions, but it is system against the want of it. The greater part of the population is kept too near the verge of pauperism, with unsettled habits and downward looks. Their thoughts are so habituated to what is low, that any partial scheme for their improvement advances slowly, is eyed with suspicion, and generally ends in decay; and it may be laid down as a maxim, that in every political institution, the tendency of which is to induce other than self-dependence, abuse is unavoidable, and that if it were not, still the results could never be beneficial.

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"There is a dread with some people that the labouring classes may be made so prudent as to become independent of work, or so refined as to be above it, or that their habits may be so raised as to require exorbitant wages. That individuals may become independent of work, is very true and very desirable; but that very circumstance will always hold out sufficient temptation to ensure a supply of labourers. With respect to an increase of refinement, the error arises from taking the effect of transition for permanent effect. Where partial improvement is going on, the few who are the first to partake of it are very likely, as the phrase is, to give themselves airs, and to appear above their work; but it is not the nature of the acquirement, but the newness of it and the distinction, which produce the evil. The individuals are not above their work, but above their fellow-workmen. As soon as the improvement becomes general, the inconvenience ceases.

"It is a common complaint, on an extension of education, that female servants become difficult to be met with, and difficult to be managed; but in those parts of the country where the same extension has long existed, no such complaint is ever thought of.

"It must not be forgotten, with respect to refinement, that the offices of labour are almost universally capable of being rendered much more agreeable and respectable than they have hitherto been.

"It is to be wished that every portion of the labouring classes were too refined for the filth of Covent Garden, or the brutalities of Smithfield. The evil here lies in the bad contrivance and arrangement of

those places of public concernment. It is surely a great error to spend nearly a million of money on a penitentiary, whilst the hotbeds of vice from which it is filled are wholly unattended to. What must necessarily be the moral state of the numerous class, constantly exposed to the vicissitudes of the weather, amidst the mud and putridities of Covent Garden? What ought it to be where the occupation is amongst vegetables, fruit, and flowers, if there were well-regulated accommodations?*

"As for Smithfield, it is only necessary to witness its horrors during the night and morning of a market, to be convinced of its corrupting effects, and, without witnessing, description can scarcely be adequate.

"It ought to be the first care, well to adapt every public institution to the end intended; but to attempt to prevent, merely by penal enactments, the evils of mental debasement, arising from deficient municipal regulations, is like the practice which neglects the constitution, and applies caustic to each external eruption. But this is a subject of vast importance, and requiring a separate consideration.

"With respect to raising the habits of the labouring classes so as to require exorbitant wages, I will only observe in this place, that provided habits are proportionally raised, wages may be considerably augmented without increasing the cost of labour, and that the drawbacks upon the enjoyments of this beauteous world, arising from ignorance, grossness, and dishonesty of the labouring classes, are so numerous and so heavy, that scarcely any expense can be too great to remove them.

"Pauperism, in the legal sense of the word, is a state of dependence upon parochial provision. That provision, so far as is necessary to supply the demand for labour, is a tax upon wages; beyond that amount it is a tax upon property, and operates as a bounty to improvidence. Where labourers, with an ordinary degree of prudence, cannot maintain themselves and their families without parish relief, such relief is part of their own wages, kept back to be doled out to them as emergency requires. The feigning, or unnecessarily bringing on such emergency, demands an increase of the provision, which increase falls on the property assessed to the rates. Of the large sum

* Since this was first written, Covent Garden Market has been remodelled and greatly improved as to buildings, but as to slovenliness and filth, much remains to be done. This is to be lamented on another account, as there are the elements of a very agreeable place of resort. It is now to be hoped that the nuisance of Smithfield will not exist much longer. [It is needless to say that this hope has been realized, and that order now reigns where, forty years ago, disorder, cruelty, and festering filth held joint sway.]

annually raised for the purposes of pauperism, that part only is a tax upon property, which is absorbed by the bounty to improvidence and by the expenses of the system; the remainder is merely a tax upon wages, and has this double injustice in it—it is not refunded by the ratepayer in the proportions in which it is retained by him, nor distributed to the labourers in the proportions in which it is deducted from their wages. It is retained in the proportion of employment of labour, it is refunded in that of property assessed. It is deducted from the best labourers in a larger proportion than from the worst—it is distributed to the worst in a larger proportion than to the best. He who employs many hands on a small rateable property retains much of what he ought to pay in wages, and pays back little in poor's rates. But with him who employs few hands on a large rateable property it is exactly the reverse, he retains little from wages, and pays much in rates.

"The injustice with regard to the labourers may be shown thus: in any place where wages are not sufficient to keep up the supply of labour, it is necessary either to raise them till they are so, or to make up the difference from the parish. Suppose the wages to be 10*s.* a week, and that it would require 12*s.* to keep up the supply of labour. If wages are raised, the best labourers will receive the most benefit; but if the difference is made up by the parish, the best labourers will pay, and the worst will receive the greatest part of the tax. Those who work their whole time will pay 2*s.* a week or 5*l.* 4*s.* per annum, of which they may possibly receive little or nothing in return; and according to this scale, a healthy, industrious labourer may lose in the course of his life above 200*l.*

"To put the case in another way: if the price of the aggregate of labour in a parish be 1000*l.* per annum, whereof 800*l.* are paid in wages, and 200*l.*, which is one-fifth, or twenty per cent. on the whole, are paid as rates, the labourer, who ought to have received 10*s.* a week, will only receive 8*s.*

"It may be said, these instances only prove that the effect of the Poor Laws is to establish a benefit society in every parish. But in benefit societies the tax is voluntary and equal, or fairly proportioned, and is managed by the contributors themselves; and with all their precautions there is this acknowledged objection, that the worst members generally receive the most advantage. But where wages are taxed by the parish, the tax is neither voluntary nor equal, but most unfairly proportioned; nor have the contributors any control over the distribution, but are made to apply for their own as if they were depending upon others.

"The attempt to keep down the price of labour, by reserving a fund

for those who have the greatest calls, appears practicable at first sight; but, in reality, has invariably the effect of increasing those calls beyond the capability of the fund to answer, and therefore the price of labour is raised instead of being reduced. To tax unmarried labourers for the benefit of the married, soon increases marriages, so as to make the tax insufficient; and the more it is raised, the greater is the insufficiency, and consequently greater the demand upon some other fund. . . . . .

"The mind must ever be at work, and if legitimate exercise is rendered unnecessary, it will, as a rule, take an opposite direction, "to vice industrious, but to nobler deeds timorous and slothful,"—which is as accurate a description of pauperism as can possibly be given. To the welfare of beings capable of thought it is indispensable that the present should be regulated with a view to the future. Undoubtedly it is the general opinion, that the labouring classes, as a body, are not capable of taking care of themselves. If they are not, they cannot be capable of comprehending the dictates of religion; for who can possibly be able to provide for a future life, who is not able to understand the duties of this?

"But to what class was Christianity first and principally addressed? For whom are its precepts peculiarly adapted? The Poor Laws indeed say to the labourer, You need not be provident; you need take no thought either for yourselves or your children. But what does Christianity say? St. Paul, speaking not of the rich but of the poor, declares, "If any provide not for his own, and especially for those of his own house, he hath denied the faith, and is worse than an infidel." Immediately after, he states to whom the voluntary contributions of the charitable ought to be distributed. "Let not a widow be taken into the number under threescore years old, well reputed of for good works; if she have brought up children, if she have lodged strangers, if she have washed the saints' feet, if she have relieved the afflicted, if she have diligently followed every good work." Then follow these words,—"But the younger widows refuse; they learn to be idle, wandering about from house to house; and not only idle, but tattlers also and busy bodies, speaking things which they ought not." Whoever is conversant with pauperism will recognise in this last passage a very faithful description of it. . . . . .

"So far as morals alone are concerned, the cost of labour to the State will be low in proportion as those who perform it possess health, strength, industry, skill, honesty, and prudence; those qualifications being imparted at the cheapest price, whatever that price may be. Therefore the nominal cost differs greatly from the real, and labour may sometimes perchance be cheaper at 20*s.* a week than at

7s.* The direct wages of labour are only a part of the real cost, the difference being divided in various proportions between the employer and the public. All the expenses arising out of the diseases of the labouring classes and from their education, beyond what they pay themselves, all that is given them in charity, all the expenses of guarding against, prosecuting, and punishing their crimes, all losses from their ignorance and dishonesty, and the poor's rates, so far as they are appropriated to the expenses of pauperism, are to be added to their wages to make up the cost of labour to the community. Enormous as the amount of these sums must annually be, and the greater part of which might be saved, I believe it is not equal to the amount to be expected from the improvement of property that would soon take place if the habits of the labouring classes were raised as they might be.

"There is a certain price for everything, and any attempt to force it below produces a contrary effect, though it may cause a division of the payment. Individuals may contrive to lower wages, and may throw the difference, with the increased cost of labour, upon the public—the State may inadequately remunerate those it employs, and thereby keep down the amount of taxation; but the means of paying the taxation will be inevitably diminished in a greater proportion. It is in the nature of things that pauperised labourers should be dearer than independent ones, and that public servants inadequately paid should be either unequal to their duties, or negligent or corrupt in the discharge of them.

"It is beyond a doubt that an armed force raised by conscription or impressment, by ballot or by the seductions of enlistment, costs a nation more than the necessary price, though it may cost the government less.

"The general rule for obtaining labour of whatsoever kind, at the cheapest rate, seems to be, first, to render the service as agreeable and respectable as its duties will permit, and then to offer in open market the lowest direct remuneration which will induce the best qualified spontaneously to engage themselves and willingly to continue.

"I believe if the subject were closely pursued, it would appear, that by rendering the various offices of labour as little irksome as may be practicable, and by approximating by all possible means the direct wages of labour to the cost of labour, pauperism and crime might be very considerably reduced; and that, notwithstanding the general opinion to the contrary, even under present circumstances the cost of

* Arthur Young has somewhere said, that he should prefer an Essex labourer at half-a-crown a day to a Tipperary man at fourpence.

labour, taking quantity and quality together, is less in England, owing to its superior advancement, than in any other country in the world. The same union of activity and perseverance, the same manly discipline, the same noiseless efficiency, that distinguish the best English soldiers and sailors, are to be found in the best classes of English workmen; and these are points of comparison much more to be depended upon than the fallacious ones of daily wages, the price of bread, or the amount of taxation.

"The hope of an immediate and adequate reward, and the certainty of the secure enjoyment of it, are indispensably necessary to obtain labour at the lowest price, and however high that price may be, still it is the lowest possible. By a law of nature the slave is the dearest of labourers, and the man whose heart is in his work the cheapest—nay, even the brute who is going home, in the hope of eating his corn in comfort, is able to accomplish more than by any urging that can be inflicted upon him. Heart, kept constant by prudence, constitutes the perfection of a labourer.

"The cost of labour is divisible into two parts; the necessary and unnecessary. The first consists of direct and indirect wages; the second of the expense of ignorance, vice, and improvidence. As science and wealth are diffused, the effects of ignorance become more injurious, and the temptations to vice and improvidence greater. But for the pains that have been partially taken to enlighten the working classes, it is impossible that the principal manufacturing towns and districts could have reached their present state of prosperity. The degree of ignorance which prevailed thirty years ago would not have permitted such collections of numbers amid such a diffusion of riches. Improvidence and disorder would long since have gained an overwhelming ascendency; and they remain to their present extent, chiefly because knowledge has not made an equal progress with wealth.

"In estimating the effects of the diffusion of education, it is not a comparison of the relative quantity of disorder formerly with that which exists now, but with that which would exist now if there had been no such diffusion. If the town of Manchester, for instance, sixty years ago contained 40,000 inhabitants, and now contains 160,000, and if the quantity of disorder were even more than fourfold, yet it would not be reasonable to say the spread of knowledge was the cause. The true account most probably would be, that but for the spread of knowledge, the present wealthy population could not hold together at all."

[It is not easy to add to this admirable treatise on Pauperism. But the recent prevalence of strikes suggests one consideration which

ought to weigh with all the employers of labour. Employers as a class are the payers, and not the receivers of rates; and if worried, vexed, and drained of their capital, would find their remedy in emigration. But so long as the contest goes on, the employer is handicapped by the Poor Law—the ultimate resort of the labouring class. It is not necessary that the working man should tell his employer in so many words that he and his class have no alternative but to support him either as labourer or pauper: the State has saved him that trouble.]

DIALOGUE ON PAUPERISM.

[The following Dialogue between a Select Vestryman and a Labourer was composed from conversations held with labourers at different times, and was first published, in 1826, in my pamphlet on Pauperism. It may be of use in throwing a little light on the unlearned in such matters.]

Could I say a word to you, sir, concerning this old man?

Oh! certainly; what does he want?

He wants you to speak for him in the vestry. He is more than threescore and ten. He has been a good workman in his time, but you see he is almost done: you won't say but the parish ought to do something for such as him, for he has not a penny nor a penny's worth.

The parish ought to do! he ought to have done for himself. Above fifty years' labour, a good workman, and not saved *one* penny! I dare say, if he had all the money he has spent in getting drunk, and all the wages of the idle days he had made, he would not need to trouble the parish.

Bless you, sir, he never had it in his power to drink much. He has brought up a large family, as many as ten children. He loved a little drink, too, when he could catch it; he is but like other folks in that.

The more's the pity; but so it is, if your neighbours do wrong, that is an excuse for you all: because others drink their wages, and come upon the parish, you think you will do the same, that they may have no advantage over you. I suppose what you call bringing up these ten children was keeping them in filth and rags, and, instead of sending them to school, going himself to the ale-house. Where were they generally to be found?—tumbling about in the lanes, without shoes and stockings?

There was no great care taken of them, I believe.

So there is not one now able to do anything towards helping the old man. What is become of them all? But, perhaps, the less that is said about them the better.

Why, they didn't turn out so well as they might have done, any of them.

I dare say they turned out quite as well as could be expected. Now, if he had laid out his spare money in bringing up his family carefully, do you suppose there would not have been one out of his ten children, or his ten children's children, able to assist him in return?

It's much if there would not.

Well! at any rate he might have taught them to be honest, and industrious, and clean, and civil spoken; all that costs nothing, you know, but a little trouble, and setting a good example. He would then have had no difficulty in finding them good places; and when they had got a little money themselves, they could have gone to a night school, or something of that sort, and it would be strange if some of them had not got forward in the world. Respectable people like to take those they employ out of a well-reputed family; and, when they have taken them, to stand their friends; and one good one in a family helps on another.

Well! I never thought of all that before.

Many a lucky thing will fall out that you never thought of, if you will but do the best you can for yourselves: but if you cannot do just as you wish, you will do nothing, or worse than nothing. If a labouring man has a large family, I know that it requires management to bring them up well; but he can sooner get them out for it, and in return they are sure to be able to repay him some time, some of them, instead of coming to him again, as perhaps this old man's have done.

Ay, they've troubled him sadly in that way.

Well then, it is good both ways, you see: not that I approve of parents depending upon their children in their old age, except where they have had more than common difficulties to strive against, or where they have done more for their children than in their situation could have been expected of them. In other cases, they ought to lay by for themselves, and leave their children free.

But there are not many that can do as you say.

What is to prevent them, unless it be poaching, rat-hunting, bear-baiting, frequenting the ale-house, and the like? In the mean time their children run wild, half-clothed, half-starved, stealing anything they can lay hold of. If you were a master, would you employ such?

I don't think I should be very fond of them.

The consequence is, therefore, they can only get odd jobs now and then, when there is more work than hands; and they get idle, drunken, dishonest habits, which soon leave them only two chances—a gaol or the workhouse. Instead of thinking of raising themselves, they think

how little work they can do, how much drink they can get, how much they can pillage, or, what is very little better, how they can impose on the parish; for all that the idle get, must come out of somebody's industry or property. Now, what do you say?

Why, I believe, sir, you have given nearly a true account; but as for this old fellow, you must recollect that the times have been very bad.

I know that; but do you mean to say that he laid by money when the times were good, and that you apply to the parish for him, because he has spent all his savings in keeping himself since times have been so bad?

Nay, I can't say I think he ever saved much.

Then what better would he be now, however good the times had been? Would he be a penny richer? With most of you (I don't say all) the only difference between good and bad times is, that when they are good, you drink more and work less, and when they are very good, there are many who choose to work and starve one week, in order to drink and be idle the next, and that is all the good they get. You know, they say they belong to a good parish; they don't care for spending the last penny; they are sure to be provided for; there's property enough. They shall be provided for, they may depend upon it; they shall be provided with hard work and coarse food. The money that is taken from the industrious to keep the idle, shall no longer be taken in this parish. As for this foolish old man, he is past mending; so we must see what little work he can do, and allow him some trifle in addition. When any one of you once thinks of living by any other means than your own honest labour, from that moment, you may depend upon it, you doom yourselves to lives of poverty and wretchedness. So, good-bye to you, and take care of yourself.

Well, sir! I have never troubled the parish for a farthing.

It would have been a disgrace if you had; but have you never thought about it? How often have you and your wife talked it over when any of your neighbours got relief? How often have they tried to persuade you to apply, and told you you were fools for slaving? If you had not been ashamed to show those active limbs of yours, should we never have seen you at the vestry? Come, be honest, and tell the truth. Well! I won't press you; your silence is an answer. I'll tell you what—the parish is the ruin of nearly all of you; and they are your worst enemies that countenance you in having anything to do with it. Again, let me advise you to depend only upon yourself.

PRINCIPLE OF POOR LAWS.

The principle of Poor Laws, however modified, is this—that the number of persons incapable of maintaining themselves necessarily exceeds the means of duly providing for them, except by a compulsory tax. If it is not true that the number of persons does so exceed, then the principle is false, and its operation, like that of every other false principle, must be pernicious. The proposition must be taken in its fullest sense; the number of persons incapable of maintaining themselves must not only actually, but necessarily, exceed the means of duly providing for them, except by a compulsory tax. This supposes government, both general and local, to be of the best form, and in the most efficient order, and that, after all, prudence aided by charity is insufficient for individual support, and therefore that the addition of a compulsory tax is necessary.

If all these suppositions are not real, then Poor Laws are not founded on sound principle, but are in the nature of an expedient to bolster up some defect or defects, which ought to be sought out and thoroughly remedied. Their tendency would be only to cover and perpetuate abuse, whether that abuse existed in the general or the local government, in a deficiency of prudence, or in a want of charity. Till government, both general and local, should be put into the most efficient order, till every encouragement should be given to prudence, and till charity should be excited by all possible means, it would be too much to say that any other resources would be necessary; and recurring to any other resources prematurely would be to retard improvement in the right quarters. Expedients are easy modes of supplying defects, and they often look specious, and for a time produce apparent benefit, but it is only on the slow operation of sound principles that reliance can safely be placed.

Those who maintain the principle of Poor Laws maintain it as a permanent principle, to be kept in operation under all circumstances, because they say all property in civilized countries being appropriated, they who are born into the world, and have not the means of providing for themselves, have a right to a maintenance from the property of others.

This position is maintained chiefly on the assumption that any one born into the world, where all property is appropriated, has greater difficulty in providing for himself than in a savage state; but the direct contrary is the fact. In any given country, a man capable of labour can more easily command the necessaries of life, when it is civilized, than he could have done when it was in a savage state; but

it will be objected that he cannot, under all circumstances, obtain employment. I will consider that objection by-and-by.

With respect to persons incapable of labour, whether from infancy or age, or from inability, physical or mental, their natural rights cannot be greater in a civilized than in an uncivilized state, though in the former their chances of provision, independently of any compulsory maintenance, are much better than in the latter. The advocates for the principle of Poor Laws assert, that children, whose parents are unable to maintain them, have a natural right to a maintenance from the property of others. If by a natural right is meant the right they would have had in a state of nature, of what value is it, or how is it to be enforced? Being destitute, how are they in a worse condition where property is appropriated than where it is not? and in the latter case parents are exposed to inability to maintain their children. If then those children are not in a worse condition, they are not entitled to any new right by way of compensation. They could have had no advantages in a state of nature which give them a right to compulsory provision in a state of civilization.

The truth is, their claims are of a higher nature than any that laws can enforce, and in a well-ordered society are sure to be attended to without compulsion. The same reasoning applies to the destitute aged and impotent. In a state of nature, where property is not appropriated, there can be no compulsory provision for them, and their chances of voluntary provision are much less than in a state of civilization. Now as to those who are capable of labour, and who, it is said, are entitled to have employment found them, if they cannot get it themselves, or to subsistence, because all property is appropriated, I answer, that in a civilized state there could be no such class, unless created or permitted by defective government. Where political regulations are such as to give all men fair play, and not to place any unnecessary temptations to improvidence in their way, the same exertion and the same prudence that would enable the savage to exist would enable the civilized labourer to live well, and to find employment for himself under all circumstances; whereas the savage, with only the pauper standard of shifting for himself, would be starved to death. Whatever quantity of destitution there may be in this country or in Ireland for want of employment, it may be traced to removable causes; but to provide for that destitution by the adoption of a permanent principle is the surest way to prevent the causes from being removed.

Whenever government is carried on upon the principle that "whatever is morally wrong cannot be politically right," the standard of morals, individually, will soon be raised too high to admit of anything like a class of paupers, and there will be no destitution, for the relief of which the funds of private charity will not be far more than sufficient.

My conclusion is, that Poor Laws are not founded on any natural right, but that they merely involve a question of expediency; and I think that no system of management will be ultimately productive of benefit, unless it has for its object the total abolition of the principle.

There is another point of view in which I would put the principle of Poor Laws, and that is, that they can only be an expedient to supply the deficiencies of wages or the waste of improvidence. If wages are high enough to support the whole class of labourers, Poor Laws would only encourage improvidence: if wages are not high enough, Poor Laws would operate to prevent their becoming so. Temporary want of employment is no argument for the adoption of a permanent principle, and permanent want of employment argues an over-population, which can only be the result of improvidence, for which the Poor Laws are not the cure.

[NATIONAL WORKSHOPS.]

If the author of "The Original" had lived to see the events of 1848, he would have found in them more than one confirmation of his views.

When France, excited and panic-stricken, proclaimed the Right to Labour, mingled with words of strange and unsettled import, such as Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity, England was slow to recognise in this acute malady the chronic disease of her own Poor Law, the principle of which (the indefeasible right of all her people to be fed) France had never admitted as sound or expedient. Indeed, she had always affirmed the contrary, and never with more emphasis and unanimity than after the disastrous failure of her own *ateliers nationaux*.

England, it is true, had never proclaimed in so many words the absolute right of all her people to be fed at the expense of the State; for her profession from the very first was to find work for the able-bodied, and food for the helpless. But when through the natural jealousy of those who were employing labour in the natural way, and the obvious superiority, as a motive power, of self-interest to official dutifulness, the first part of the scheme had proved abortive, the Poor Law resolved itself naturally into a machinery for feeding all the people who could not or who would not feed themselves. This having become the practice of the State, some writers of repute have raised the practice to the dignity of a principle; and have gone so far as to assert that, if need be, the land of England must be mortgaged up to the last farthing of its value to feed the poor of England—a doctrine, be it observed, wholly inapplicable to the times in which we are living,

when agriculture, instead of being nearly the only source of wealth, has sunk to the level of the least productive among scores of remunerative industries.

That part of the Poor Law which professed to find work for the unemployed having, therefore, proved a failure, mainly because it never seems to have occurred to our ancestors to employ the people otherwise than in manufactures carried on in-doors, the Poor Law by degrees assumed the simple form of a huge machinery for supplying the mixed multitude known as the poor with food, raiment, and shelter, or with money wherewith to purchase them.

By slow degrees the notion dawned upon us that in times of emergency, as when the Potato famine prevailed in Ireland, or the Cotton famine in Lancashire, or a Rice famine in India, it is always possible to find something to do in the streets of cities, or on the roads and waste lands of the country, for the doing of which the State, or the local authorities, can afford to raise loans. Had this idea occurred to our ancestors, and all the able-bodied professing poverty had been set to work on the making of roads and the reclaiming of wastes, under the compulsion of an efficient police, the Poor Law would present itself to us in a very different shape.

Be this as it may, when first we admitted the obligation, and took upon ourselves the heavy burden of feeding the people, we were not, like France in 1848, in the throes of a revolution; but we were suffering from a great displacement and dislocation of labour. We had thrown upon our hands, crowds of helpless and demoralized folk whom the monasteries had previously maintained, and in whom the Church of that day, by precept and example, had encouraged a feeling of dependence.

At this distance of time, we cannot rightly estimate, perhaps not even imagine, the pressure put upon the State by this displacement of labour; nor ought we to forget that in those days the Government had to act under two grave disadvantages. On the one side it was misled by precedent, on the other it lacked the organization by which, in these modern times, we have overcome analogous difficulties. A strong police force, gathered from among the least demoralized of the destitute, was an obvious necessity of the time; but that it was not easy to create. It was easier to feed the people than to set them to work; so that the demoralizing spectacle of able-bodied men and women eating the food they had not earned was always more or less before the eyes of the local authorities, among whom were to be found some so ignorant of what we should now call the plainest principles of Political Economy, as to wish to convert our Poor-houses into veritable Workhouses.

One scheme of this order which a certain Sir Humphrey Mackworth sought to embody in an Act of Parliament, quite early in the eighteenth century, gave occasion to Defoe not merely to denounce and defeat the project, but to show how much of sound sense and practical wisdom may enter into the mental composition of a master of fiction. To those, if any such there be, who hanker after National Workshops in any form, I recommend a perusal of this able and instructive tract, which will be found to give as true a view of the besetting vices and strange characteristics of the English people, their lazy diligence, gluttony, and drunkenness, as if he were writing now, and not a century and three-quarters ago.*

But to resume. It is obviously true, both of individuals and the State, that there is no real difference between telling a man that you will always find him work, happen what may, and that you will always feed him. An individual can fulfil the engagement by displacing the labour of another man, or by taking the food out of his mouth. What can a nation do more? There is a national labour-fund, consisting of the combined capital of all the owners of property, and this fund is of a definite, though not an ascertainable amount. The nation (strange as the statement may seem to people whose thoughts have never been turned in this direction) has no purse of Fortunatus, which fills as fast as it is emptied; but one very much like that we all carry in our pockets, containing simply the balance between what we put in and what we take out. So that if the Government were to undertake to employ all the people who are out of work, it must diminish the people's labour-fund by every farthing spent for that purpose. So also, if it undertook to feed the people—the food could only be bought with money taken out of the pockets of those who, by giving employment, were already feeding at least the same number of persons in a less circuitous and wasteful way. All Labour Laws and all Poor Laws then are obviously delusive—ingenious contrivances to transfer money, with much loss of time, from one pocket to another; utterly powerless to effect a balance of good; and equally sure to occasion a balance of evil. The establishment for a short space of the *ateliers nationaux* in France brought the nation nearly to the brink of ruin: the Poor Law in England is the prime cause of that valetudinarian prosperity which shocks us by dropsical fulness in one part, contrasted with the leanness of famine in another.

If we were to follow out in detail the effects of the abstraction of

* An abridgment of this useful little tract, "Defoe's giving Alms no Charity, and Employing the Poor a Grievance to the Nation," is to be had of the Publisher of this work for the small sum of one penny.

money from the pocket of the ratepayer to give work to the unemployed, or food to the starving, we should find that a certain number of willing workers are thrown entirely out of work; that the wages of sundry others are lowered; that the money which, if left where it was, would have circulated briskly from hand to hand, is subject to certain inconvenient arrests in the hands of the tax-gatherer—a waste of time always equivalent to a waste of money; and that some struggling ratepayers, barely keeping soul and body together, must be reduced to depend on the very rates the pressure of which had contributed to their ruin.

[ECONOMIC CONSEQUENCES OF POOR LAWS.]

If all men were industrious, thoughtful, and honest up to the moderate standard implied in the proverb "Honesty is the best Policy," it would matter little whether we had a Poor Law or not. It is the absence of these qualities in a large section of the people which constitutes the chief objection to all such laws. The State, by the machinery of a Poor Law, may be said to advertize for the poor, but finds its advertisement answered by all sorts of lazy, dissolute, crafty, and criminal counterfeits. Hence the people who get relieved in and out of our workhouses come to exhibit fine specimens of all the vices and crimes, with only here and there an example of poverty rightly so called. I am sure that I do not exaggerate when I say that taken one with another, and with exceptions few and far between, the clients of our Poor Law form the very scum of the English people. The best of them have been made paupers by the impoverishing, disorganizing, and demoralizing operation of the law itself; the worst by its co-operation with the givers of doles, especially in the creation and maintenance of tramps and vagrants.

I recognise at least four economic consequences of a Poor Law, in the slackened circulation of money; in its transfer from the poor to the destitute; in the operation of the workhouse as a standing threat; and in the waste of time and strength through the separation of the rural labourer from his work. I will treat of them in turn.

1. Though coin and its many substitutes and representatives is not the only wealth, it is not far from the truth to say that that country is the richest which has most money, and that the most prosperous which circulates it the quickest. The riches of such countries as India, France, and Ireland, where hoarding in one shape or other largely prevails, is rather potential than actual. Some day when their people have more confidence in each other and in their governments, they must make great progress in wealth and prosperity. But here in

England we certainly owe much of our prosperity to the rapid rate at which money passes from hand to hand; and in this respect we are subject to constant fluctuations. The seasons and the weather affect us, and so does the condition of our continental neighbours, especially those who are nearest to us. The influence of these causes, however, is small when compared to such events as commercial panics and political revolutions. Happily in this country we have experience only of the first: in France they know but too well what the second mean, and we have watched them in all their stages: dear food, scanty employment, acting and re-acting, the State blamed, discontent culminating in mob-violence, misery passing into homicidal mania, as in 1793, into pyromania, as in 1871.

But there are other causes of a slack circulation, partial and slow in their operation; and to these belong all taxes and rates, and even the prudential investments by which we make provision for the future.

The necessity and utility of these imposts and investments reconcile us to their otherwise injurious operation.* But this is not the case with the Poor Laws, which retard the circulation of eight millions of money, without any countervailing advantage, and expend most of it in a most objectionable manner.

2. That the Poor Law virtually operates as a transfer of money from the poor to the destitute there can be no doubt whatever. The money collected as poor-rate is so much abstracted from that labour-fund which, partly expended in wages, partly spent on commodities, keeps mankind alive. Of this fund of eight millions a small fraction only is spent upon those who may be justly styled the poor, the remainder is wasted in ministering to their debased counterfeits, the destitute.

3. That the Poor Law does operate as a threat, expressed, or understood, there can be no doubt. "Such and such wages, or the workhouse," is the farmer's threat; "such labour as I please to give you, or the workhouse," is the labourer's threat; "such wages as I demand, or the workhouse," is the threat of the unionist on strike.† Separation of wife from husband, parent from child, is the nation's threat to the young or middle-aged married man or woman who seeks admission;

* By parity of reasoning all money recklessly squandered, and that which passes straight from the hand of the dole-giver to the publican must create a flush of prosperity, which, however, has to be set off against remoter consequences in the shape of disease, vice, and crime.

† I had just added these last words, as being necessarily true, when I encountered in the columns of the *Times* (Feb. 17th, 1875) an extract from the *Pall Mall Gazette*, to the effect that a well-known professional manager of contests between masters and men was reported to have exhorted the coal-miners of South Wales, in case of a lock-out, not to be ashamed of throwing themselves on the poor-rates.

the society of the beggar, the thief, the idiot, the imbecile, the hopelessly depraved of either sex, and something of a prison's severity for all—and this same Castle of Indolence, so repulsive to the best specimens of the poor rightly so-called, that they would rather starve than enter it, an open resting-place for the tramp and felon!

4. But one of the worst economic results of the Poor Law is to be traced in the prolonged operation of the law of settlement, which, under the plausible pretext of local self-government, drew an enchanted circle round some small district of country, and within its narrow limits offered to the landed proprietor (owner perhaps of all the land) a temptation hard to resist to pull down existing cottages and refuse to erect new ones. By this means the cottages that remained were overcrowded, and the labourer was driven to distant villages and towns, there to be exposed to this same evil of overcrowding, exaggerated by mal-constructions of which the gentleman-landlord would have been ashamed. In this way the labourer was defrauded of time, strength, and money, and his employer of part of his services. Thus it happened that in many parts of England labourers might have to walk three, four, and even five miles to and from their work; and while this wasteful process was going on in the country, a Manchester manufacturer would be spending a thousand pounds to hoist his operatives from one floor to another.

It is true that matters are somewhat mended since the sharpest sting has been taken out of the Poor Law by substituting the union for the parish, and so diminishing the temptations of the owners of close parishes to pursue a policy of extermination. But it has been by no means an unmixed benefit to increase the burdens of the class which, in spite of its temptations, built many decent cottages for the poor, and at the same time, to augment the resources of those who had already nearly monopolized the work of erecting dwellings of an inferior order. In this aspect of the case the change from parochial to union rating must have had an unfavourable tendency—the tendency to perpetuate that greatest of the artificial evils which have so long afflicted the agricultural labourer—his compulsory residence at a distance from his work.

How our labourers are to be brought back again to the decent homes from which the law may be said to have driven them; how landlords are to be spurred into activity in this wholesome work of cottage-building; what pressure shall be put upon them; or, better still, what bribe shall be offered them; are questions demanding the most serious consideration.

Some wholesome pressure will certainly come from the tenant farmer. He cannot rest satisfied with a state of things which separates

his labourers from their work. He will ask for cottages, and he will get them. And, as labour grows scarce, and the labourer can command higher wages, it will be felt more and more by all parties interested in him that they can no longer afford to consume his strength in walking to and fro.

As to offering the landlord a bribe or inducement to build cottages for the labourers on his estate, that might be done by the State opening out to him some way of escape from the burden of the poor-rate. It would have to offer a poor-rate with one hand, and with the other a release under certain conditions: in a word, to inaugurate a conditional poor-rate. At present, as we all know, one landlord may build roomy and wholesome cottages for his labourers, while his neighbour's estate is disgraced by filthy hovels; and yet, as far as poor-rate is concerned, the Government shall regard each with equal favour, neither smiling on the one, nor frowning on the other. At present I content myself with this question: Would it not be possible to release the former from the obligation of paying poor-rates, and retain it in the case of the latter? Need there be much delay in answering this question?

[MORAL CONSEQUENCES OF POOR LAWS.]

The tendency of a poor-law towards demoralization is irresistible. It cannot but predispose all baser natures towards the slovenly vice of improvidence, and the degrading habit of dependence. The taint first infects the weaker natures, then spreads to those who at first offered some resistance, and finishes by becoming a wide-spread moral pestilence. This is true of all whom a poor-law draws within the influence of its immoral teachings, whether they rank as out-door or in-door poor. It is bad enough outside, but infinitely worse within, and a man must have a very inactive imagination who cannot realize the state of things that must needs prevail within those Castles of Indolence, the Union Workhouses. It is true that, having labour at command, they are, as a rule, kept scrupulously clean; it is true that there is a separation of the sexes, and classification according to age, and in these respects they contrast favourably with the prisons of a century ago; and though still of necessity destroying more lives than they can be the means of saving, they are, as a rule, kept in a wholesome state. How cruelly destructive of human life the Poor Law, as administered not a quarter of a century ago, was, no middle-aged reader of these pages need be told.

But when we have given due force to all these considerations, there still remains a residue of physical and moral evil wholly irremediable by any means hitherto suggested. If the reader will give me his

attention but for a little while, he will both understand and appreciate my meaning.

Strange as the assertion may sound in some ears, I believe it, nevertheless, to be quite true that, of the many millions of adult men and women in England, scarcely a solitary person has thought of asking himself this vital question—what becomes of the worn-out and used-up multitudes of the criminal and dangerous classes? When they can plunder and plague the public no longer, into what holes and corners do they slink to die? Not in garrets and cellars—the poor die in such places as these—not in ditches and under hedges, but in Union Workhouses. Where else should they wear out the remnant of their ill-spent lives? Where, too, do the children of the dangerous classes, taught to steal, sent out to beg, witnesses perforce of every nauseous vice, full to the brim of revolting experiences, their every word an indecency or a blasphemy—where do they go, where must they go, when by any accident they fall helpless into the hands of the police? There is but one answer. They, too, must go to the Union. And so of profligate mothers, when their time of trouble comes, and so of the tramping imbecile, when the weather is not to his taste. These and every other variety of vicious manhood, womanhood, and childhood, must find their way to the Union Workhouse, must take part in the *education* of those with whom they are made to associate. Let who will do the work of *instruction*, these, and such as these, must bring to bear on all around them the terrible force of example. These must carry on the work of *education*. Thus does the Union Workhouse become inevitably the normal school of all the vices.

It is not many days since two cases were whispered in my ear by the same eye-witness, the one physical, the other moral, so utterly revolting that I dare not speak of them in public, or write about them here. And, alas! both were typical cases of their kind, certain from their very nature to reproduce themselves in Union Workhouses throughout the length and breadth of England. I do not hear of such things now for the first time. It was the knowledge of facts of this order that led me years ago to speak of the Poor Law as England's Frankenstein, formed by a bungling workman in a fit of ill-directed enthusiasm, animated with the spirit of a demon, the merited scourge and torment of its infatuated creator! Since then I have never been able to restrain myself from speaking of it, in season and out of season, in terms of earnest condemnation. And now I rejoice to say that I find a growing sympathy with these views, among the classes that gradually give shape to public opinion. No one, of course, is so ignorant of English literature as not to know that the Poor Law has been condemned by many of the coolest heads and kindest hearts that

England has produced, and by none more emphatically than by the clergy.

I will finish this article by a short extract from the letter of a clergyman in acknowledgment of an address of mine in which I treated of the Poor Law as a piece of legislation standing in need of a swift and sweeping reform :—"Your remarks on workhouse legislation will be borne out and endorsed by every practical man, and I only wish you were at this moment at the head of the Poor Law Board. If you wish to be further convinced of the abuse of the existing system all you have to do is take a ticket from London to ——, and I will undertake to show you that which I do not believe can be seen elsewhere to such an extent, a state of general decadence, a whole parish impoverished by the provision which the Poor Law supplies for the relief of that idleness which the Poor Law itself has created."

[CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM.]

I interpose this short chapter here, because the experiment on Christian Socialism made in 1848 affords an excellent illustration of the truth that lies at the root of all attempts to do good through the use of money—that the money with which we endow one set of men must needs be taken out of the pockets of another.

The Christian Socialism of 1848 came about somewhat after this fashion. France had been at her old game of distressing and perplexing the nations; and most cruelly did they suffer in consequence. We here in England did not wholly escape, partly because we were already in the midst of the Chartist agitation. The whole working class accordingly was more or less excited, imbued with unsound economic doctrines, impatient of control, and especially infected with an unwholesome disinclination to service in every shape.

Naturally enough, this uneasy state of the public mind made itself most felt in the metropolis, where working men of the better order were disquieted, they hardly knew why, and the higher and middle classes were conscious of a danger hard to define, because it did not shape itself into words. At this juncture Frederick Maurice rendered a great service to all parties concerned, by tempting dumb discontent to break forth into articulate speech. He organized meetings at which he offered to preside—at which meetings working men should freely give utterance to their complaints and aspirations, while he, in a spirit of perfect impartiality, would, like a faithful mirror, reflect back upon themselves the likeness of their own thoughts. Having been present at more than one of these meetings, I can bear witness to the good service they rendered to the State. The speakers as they came to

put their thoughts into words, found themselves growing less angry and somewhat more amenable to reason. At length all parties understood each other. The working men would like to dispense with a master, and earn money only for themselves; and the chairman, overflowing with the milk of human kindness, and a Christian clergyman withal, would do what he could to satisfy their desires. So, gathering around him such men as Charles Kingsley, and appealing for pecuniary support to sympathizing men of wealth, he set on foot that system of co-operation to which he gave the name of *Christian Socialism*. To this joint stock association, Maurice, Kingsley, and their friends, contributed the Christianity and the capital, the workmen the socialism and the labour.

The experiment, be it observed, had little in common with the socialism of the early Christian: for neither the wealthier gentlemen who furnished the capital, nor the less wealthy workmen who supplied the labour, had any thought of reducing themselves to a dead level of equality of means. Both parties were happily deficient in that "enthusiasm of humanity," which the early Christians so sadly misapplied; so that Christianity, if it had any real place in the new project, manifested itself in that sort of equality which Christianity nowhere teaches or recognises, as an affair of this world or the next.

The experiment, as might be expected, soon proved a failure. The tailors, shoemakers, and bricklayers, held together so long as their patrons, having transferred their orders from the masters whom they had previously employed, to the men who had gathered into these new associations, continued to need clothes or repairs; and then the system, wanting the strong cement of a paramount selfish interest, fell to pieces.

Of all this movement nothing remains at present but the volume of the *Politics of the People*, such novels as *Alton Locke*, and such institutions as the Working Men's College, with perhaps the still unspent enthusiasm which moved Frederick Maurice and Charles Kingsley, and their worthy associates, to labour on behalf of the working class.

The economic lesson upon which I would insist is that which the personal experience of every patron of the Christian Socialists must have brought home to him, that every farthing of the capital subscribed on their behalf was withdrawn from the master tailors and shoemakers, with whom they had no quarrel, and who were earning their own living by distributing the money of their customers among men whose labour they knew better how to organize and reward than the men themselves, by any possible inspiration of their own, could do.

[DISENDOWMENT OF THE DESTITUTE.]

It is not for the sake of alliteration that I use this title, but that I may express in the fewest possible words my conviction that the abolition of the Poor Laws would not in any way injure the really poor, but merely work a gradual reformation in the condition of the destitute. The Poor Laws have, I am convinced, brought matters to such a pass, that England may be termed without exaggeration the Paradise of the Destitute, and the Purgatory of the Poor. If the reader will refer to what is said by the author of "The Original" under the heads of "Poverty and Pauperism," and "Poor Laws in Ireland," and also to my short supplement under the title of "Poverty and Destitution," he will be able to appreciate my meaning.

At present, then, be it well understood, that destitution in its many debasing forms is endowed with by far the larger portion of all the funds of every kind raised for the relief of the poor, and notably of the eight millions or so of poor-rates spent in housing, clothing, feeding, watching and controlling the hundreds of thousands whom it pleases us to call Poor, but of whom the greater part bear as little resemblance to them as drones do to bees.

These destitute persons consist mainly of mendicants and mendicant-thieves, distributed in proportions varying according to the season of the year and other causes, which I need not here particularize, among our streets and highways, workhouses and prisons, and charities of the palliative class, professing want of work and practising begging and thieving.

Now this multitude of destitute people is supported not by one fund, but by many—by a host of endowed charities distributing doles in money or kind; by sacrament money, supplemented by the large sums entrusted to the clergy of all denominations; by money distributed by district visitors; by the proceeds of the multitudinous charity sermons, directed for the most part to local objects of the palliative order; by the produce, by no means inconsiderable, of the misplaced industry of begging-letter impostors; by gifts in money and kind dropped into the hands of itinerant impostors; and lastly, by the overgrown poor-rate.

All these funds together would probably yield an aggregate greatly understated at twelve millions of money, to say nothing of immense contributions in the shape of food, clothing, and fuel. If we assume a million families to be in a position to require more or less assistance, there is here money enough to supply each of them with twelve pounds a-piece. Is it not clear that this, the richest country

in the world, must be quite unequal to the supply of a hundredth part of this sum total of real poverty? Is it conceivable that one in twenty-five of the inhabitants of England and Wales, of both sexes, and all ages and conditions, or one in every five of all its families, is constantly in a state to require Poor Law relief, indoor or outdoor? Can any man fairly acquainted with the facts of the case doubt that, if a masterly inactivity in the matter of miscalled charity could be brought about, destitution would disappear like a hideous dream, and no more remain of decent poverty than is needed to keep the compassionate virtues in wholesome exercise?

The disendowment of the destitute must be brought about in two ways: by the reformation of those who distribute funds or give personal doles, and by the gradual reform, tending to the ultimate extinction, of the Poor Laws.

The reformation of the clergy must needs be a work of time. Giving comes so naturally to them, suspicion sits so awkwardly upon them, and palliation commends itself with such seeming authority, that the process of improvement must needs be slow. In the larger parishes, and in all towns, the work of discrimination is surrounded by difficulties. In common with their lay neighbours, but to a greater extent, they have to repel the assaults of the casual mendicant, and keep themselves constantly on their guard against the aged females* who crawl from house to house, carrying with them piteous tales of distress; who are habitually seized with sharp rheumatic pains, or spasms of extreme violence, at sight of a clergyman; and who take quite kindly to prayers and exhortations if suitably supported and enforced by gifts of money. Concerning people of this class, their surroundings and connexions, the police are pretty well informed: the nearest publican still better; but somehow or other the last person to learn the truth is the man to whom the truth should be dearer than to all the world besides. The clergy may be safely recommended to take the police into their council.

With the lay giver of doles the work of reformation ought to be less difficult. Having only his own money to deal with, and no fund to which the destitute may prefer a sort of claim, he ought to find no difficulty in refusing aid to those of whom he knows nothing but that they ask for it. As to begging letters, the Charity Organization Society may be confidently applied to for information respecting most of these.

There yet remains to speak of the disendowment of the destitute, as far as they are encouraged and supported by the poor-rates:—a subject which must be carefully considered by itself.

* Walker's "Gin-drinking, canting old women."

[REFORM OF THE POOR LAW.]

The first step towards a reform of the Poor Law must consist in an understanding of its mixed character, and that is best shown by an analysis of the payments made out of the poor-rate. In the first place, there are loans to be repaid amounting to upwards of a quarter of a million a year. Deduct this amount, and a sum of little less than seven and a half millions of money remains to be accounted for.

This is divisible into three parts:—the first part (less than one million and a quarter) is devoted to medical relief, including the cost of the important preventive measure, vaccination, and to the care of lunatics; the second part, amounting to nearly six hundred thousand pounds, may be classed as legal expenditure; and the remainder, approaching five millions seven hundred thousand pounds, is devoted to in-maintenance and out-relief; salaries and rations of officers alone not falling very far short of one million pounds.

Now those among us who dare to think that the Poor Law cannot long be continued in its present form, acknowledge the necessity of retaining and even augmenting the sum set apart for the maintenance of lunatics, and the expediency of continuing medical relief in an improved and more costly shape. The custody of lunatics is a part of our police arrangements necessary to the maintenance of order and the security of life and property. It is only by a sort of accident or misunderstanding that the expense falls on the poor-rates. This item of expense will have to be largely increased, for we stand greatly in need of more madhouses, as well as of idiot and imbecile asylums. Other medical expenses will also have to be increased, for the simple reason, that medical advice is very costly as compared with the common necessaries of life, and that the provision of such advice would effectually bridge over, at least for a time, the gap between a Poor Law and no Poor Law.

If we suppose these two items of cost retained, and the amounts to be subject to considerable increase; if we add the loans that must continue to be paid, and the retiring allowances of the officials whom any conceivable reform would cause to be discharged, we should still have a sum of about five millions of pounds, of which more than three millions are now squandered on out-door relief.

Now the first thing that we have to do is to break up and disintegrate the populations of those normal schools of vice and idleness, the union workhouses, into their constituent parts. Idiots and imbeciles ought, far the sake of decency, to be removed to idiot and lunatic

asylums, old people to asylums for the aged, and boys and girls to schools of different kinds.

In asylums for the aged, and in schools for the young, a distinct line should be drawn between the decent and uncorrupted poor, and the depraved members of the destitute class. The first class should occupy their own asylums and their own schools, and receive indulgences denied to the second.

Such a reform as this implies not only the removal of the existing inmates of our workhouses and their distribution into buildings fitted for their reception, but also a like initial distribution of all who may become chargeable to the poor-rate.

This removal and distribution, which would have been impracticable in former times, has, in these days of railroads, become comparatively easy. Nor is there any difficulty in providing the requisite buildings. Indeed they are ready to our hands, and a few structural changes would fit them for their new and better uses. I speak of the union workhouses; and I commend to the serious attention of the legislature the expediency of carrying the work of consolidation, which Fielding suggested in 1753, and we carried into partial effect in 1834, to its legitimate and rational climax. Let our 730 union workhouses be surveyed and allotted to the distinct uses to which they are best adapted—asylums for the imbecile, asylums for the idiot, schools for children of different ages, with separation of the innocent from the corrupt, almshouses for the respectable, and places of strict detention for the unruly and incorrigible wreck of the criminal community.

In favour of this scheme of consolidation, for which our cheap and easy communication by rail affords, as I have said, facilities formerly unknown, there are obvious economic reasons to be advanced; and there can be no doubt that any expense the new system might entail would be amply defrayed by the sale of buildings, especially of those situate in or near our large towns, which the survey itself would prove to be unnecessary. If this plan were carried into effect, coupled with the measures presently to be pointed out for securing the persons of the imbecile population now at large, the Poor Law, as a costly machine for the relief of destitution, might in a few years' time cease and determine. The provision of asylums for the idiot and imbecile being regarded as measures of protection of life and property, and not as belonging to a Poor Law strictly so-called, it might be possible to provide for sickness, the education of the poor, and the care of the infirm by *pro ratâ* contributions by the State, or the counties, to well-ordered institutions maintained by the voluntary charitable contributions of the public. For casualties of all sorts, temporary provision would have to be made in connexion with our police stations, whence

the casuals would have to be sent with the least possible delay to the larger buildings already provided.

I have just spoken of the measures that ought to be taken for securing the persons of the imbeciles now at large. Of these wanderers, the frightful risks to which they expose us, and the disgrace they bring upon us, I shall have something to say elsewhere. In this place suffice it to state, that large provision will have to be made for them in the asylums recommended to be prepared, and that as soon as this needful preparation is made, the medical officers of our convict and other prisons must be instructed to certify all men and women of this class, and send them forthwith to the establishments provided for them.

This measure, if it stood alone, would soon make a sensible impression upon the mass of English crime. But we ought not to rest satisfied with it. If we would rid ourselves of this most dangerous and costly element of our population, we must adopt two other measures as rational as they are needful. We must be armed with a short legal enactment that every person without exception who has passed through any period of punishment, however short, shall be examined by competent persons, and if found imbecile, or of weak mind, shall be committed, by certificate in due form, to an imbecile asylum, there to be detained or set at liberty after a defined period of observation and probation. If any one should raise objection on the ground of expense, I reply, after full consideration of the subject, and a personal experience of this imbecile class, that such a measure as I suggest would effect the greatest economy that, at the present moment, it is possible to bring about. Arson, murder, and other outbreaks of passion to which the imbecile is specially addicted, are not only horrible crimes, but most costly occurrences, of which the expense falls very heavily on the shoulders of those who live in the country. They constitute a concealed, but real burden on the land.

But those who have to do with the criminal class are being constantly perplexed by cases of imbecility which betray themselves not by lesion of the intellect but in the follies and vices of a life. These strange beings, to whom the mendicant-thief community give the expressive slang name of *half-sharps*, can only be dealt with by the same measure which ought obviously to be applied to all habitual offenders, whatever their mental state.

Justice and common sense alike require that a broad line of distinction should be drawn between men and women convicted of one crime, and those who, after receiving the warning of a first punishment, are guilty of a second offence. This marks the habitual criminal, who needs, for his own sake and the safety of the public, a reformatory

treatment demanding time for its application, and productive labour for its chief remedy. If, at the expiration of a suitable period (say a year) so spent, the discharged prisoner again lapses into crime, the man is to be looked upon not merely as an habitual criminal but as an incorrigible offender; probably insane, certainly unfit to be trusted with liberty—entitled only to such considerate treatment as can safely be shown to one unfit to govern himself, and who ought not to be again let loose upon the public except perhaps after a prolonged period of probation. A criminal suffering at the hands of the law a series of equal punishments for scores or even hundreds of like offences may be pronounced the most absurd spectacle that the sun shines upon.

The subject of Poor Law reform has thus necessarily connected itself with a great legal reform, and much needed change in the treatment of the entire criminal population. On this latter topic something more will have to be said when treating of prison discipline.

[PRISONS AND WORKHOUSES.]

I can imagine many objections, more or less plausible, to the plan of Poor Law Reform which I have ventured to submit. Among these there is one which, were it well founded, would be fatal. It might be alleged that, if our workhouses were the normal schools of vice that I have represented them to be, the fact must be generally known, and the abuse as generally condemned. To this objection an obvious and conclusive reply would be furnished by the state of things that existed in our prisons a century ago. What it was, and how strangely it was ignored, cannot, I think, be shown in fewer words than in those I have elsewhere already made use of, and which I accordingly adapt to my present purpose.

In 1773, when John Howard was appointed Sheriff of Bedford, the population of our English prisons was as strangely assorted as that of our workhouses is now; and debtors, with their wives and families, as well as many innocent persons, were forced into companionship with felons and madmen, and depraved persons of both sexes and of every class. There was not in our prisons then, as in our workhouses now, a classification by sex and age; and the health of their inmates, and all things on which health and life depend, were utterly neglected. Physical and moral corruption, in degrees now hard to imagine, went hand in hand, and the gaol distemper, confluent small-pox, and all the diseases that ever cluster round scenes of physical corruption, made our prisons their home.

I am not alleging that the condition of our workhouses now has any

other than a remote resemblance to the state of our prisons then. But exactly in proportion as the prison of 1773 was physically and morally worse than the workhouse of 1875, does the lesson I wish to inculcate gain force and cogency. If our ancestors, a hundred years ago, did not note or care for the terrible abuses of our prison system, our contemporaries may equally overlook, or view with indifference, what is going on inside our workhouses now.

The following is, as I have just stated, a true summary of the facts relating to our prisons as Howard found them, and as they had continued to be many a long year before his time.

"Hundreds of charitable persons, in every part of England, had taken pity on the poor debtor, and had given or bequeathed money for his relief, knowing full well how miserable he was; and every now and then some rich man, or the King himself, would buy some wretched family out of bondage; but no movement of reform came from them. There had been Black Assizes, with their terrible consequences, and the law had been smitten, over and over again, in the persons of its highest dignitaries; but neither did the lawyers originate any reform. Medical charities had sent skilled physicians to the prisons on their errands of mercy; but they had rested satisfied with the work of palliation. The fever spread into towns and villages, but neither local authority nor central government interfered to protect the lives of our people. It scourged our armies and fleets: but no word of remonstrance was spoken by Horse Guards or Admiralty. In 1701, a Committee of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge visited Newgate, distributed money and tracts, and exposed the gross abuses and immoralities practised there; but there, as in other prisons, things went on as before. In 1729, General Oglethorpe, and his Committee of the House of Commons, made inquiry into the state of the Fleet, Marshalsea, and King's Bench, and the crimes and cruelties of the miscreants Bambridge and Acton. Reports were prepared and presented, these wretches were tried and acquitted, the horrors of these prison-houses were revealed to an indignant and disgusted public, their outraged feelings found expression in the verses of Thomson, and full justification in the lively pictures of Fielding, Smollett, and Goldsmith, but still no reform. Even Oglethorpe, the benevolent and patriotic statesman, the indefatigable chairman of Committee, the brave soldier, the wise administrator, finds no better course open to him than to gather some few debtors from the prisons, and with them and others in want of employment, to go forth and found the colony of Georgia. But the glory of rooting out the Gaol Distemper, and of reforming the whole system of imprisonment in England, missed by this kindred spirit and worthy forerunner, was reserved for nearly half a century,

till, in a happy hour, John Howard was appointed Sheriff of Bedford."

POOR LAWS IN IRELAND.

I am induced to give the following article on account of its appropriateness to the time; and notwithstanding its forbidding title and its length, I beg to recommend it to the perusal of my readers, both male and female.

I met the other day with the following passage from Inglis's book on Ireland. Speaking of Limerick, he says, "Some of the abodes I visited were garrets, some cellars, some were hovels on the ground-floor, situated in narrow yards or alleys. I will not speak of the filth of the places; that could not be exceeded in places meant to be its receptacles. Let the worst be imagined, and it will not be beyond the truth. In at least three-fourths of the hovels which I entered there was no furniture of any description, save an iron pot; no table, no chair, no bench, no bedstead; two, three, or four little bundles of straw, with perhaps one or two scanty and ragged mats, were rolled up in the corners, unless where these beds were found occupied."

After describing the corresponding appearance of the inmates, he adds, "I allude to the disputed question, whether there be or be not a necessity for some legal provision for the poor; and I confess, that with such scenes before me as I have at this moment, it does seem to me an insult to humanity and common sense to doubt the necessity to which I allude." Then he concludes, "Justice demands that in the ratio of their abundance men should be forced to contribute."

The inference from the above passage is, that this state of things is attributable to the want of poor-laws. Now the same scenes may be witnessed in the heart of this wealthy metropolis, where poor-laws are in full vigour, and where the complaint has been that they were administered with too lavish a hand. It is not the want of poor-laws, but improvident and debased habits from other causes, that produce this misery, real to a great extent, but apparent to a far greater.

In the year 1829, when I became a police-magistrate, I was in the habit of visiting, both by day and night, the habitations of the lowest classes, of which a great portion are Irish, in the courts and alleys branching from Rosemary Lane and from the High Street, Whitechapel, towards Spitalfields. I also renewed my visits when the cholera first appeared. In respect to filth and want of furniture, I have frequently witnessed scenes quite equalled by those described by Mr. Inglis; in respect to inmates, I never saw greater misery, at least in appearance, reference being had to the general state of the two countries. I will mention particular instances.

I remember going one Sunday morning with the parochial authorities

of Whitechapel, amongst other places of a like description, to a house in Rosemary Lane, now pulled down, which was inhabited at free cost by several families, there being no legal claimant. It had an ornamented front, and had formerly been of some consideration. The ground-floor was in too dilapidated a state to be occupied at all. We were obliged to borrow a candle at ten o'clock in the morning, to enable us to ascend with safety the ruined staircase. The first room we saw was the common receptacle of the filth of the house, and, as Mr. Inglis says, "let the worst be imagined, and it will not be beyond the truth." Through an interior window we saw two nearly naked children standing in a wretched room, the door of which was locked. With some difficulty we gained admission. In one corner a woman was lying on dirty straw, covered only with a ragged sack. In another was a basket of sprats, with some skate heaped on the floor by it. There were a few broken pieces of crockery on the mantelpiece, and a faggot of wood was reared up in the fireplace; other articles there were none in the room. The woman hawked fish, and probably earned some shillings a day; but, like most of her tribe, preferred mere sensual enjoyment to comfort, and was no doubt, from what we observed, sleeping off the effects of supper and gin. In another room were two young men and their wives, with no other furniture than two poor beds, and the rest of the inmates were of a similar class.

In a street near, called Cartwright-street, is a disputed property, which is occupied, or was, without ceremony. In one house alone, when cholera was prevalent in that quarter, there were forty inhabitants, several of whom fell victims to the disease. There were at that time great complaints against the keeping of pigs, at the number of which I was much surprised. Some were even found living upstairs, and from them and those below in the most confined places the nuisance was excessive. Filth and mud were accumulated in all directions, some abatement of which has been effected by the alarm from cholera.

In short, the generality of the world has very little idea of the state of the lowest parts of it, even in its immediate vicinity, as I had proof in the ignorance of the respectable inhabitants of Whitechapel of what was existing around them; and this is one of the strongest arguments in my mind in favour of organized and vigilant parish government, because such evils as I have described have only to be brought frequently before men's eyes to be made to disappear.

In one of my visitations I went into a house in a filthy court at two o'clock in the morning, and found an Irishman very drunk, sitting with his wife and children on tubs and mugs, and without any tables or chairs, round a fire, on which they were frying beefsteaks and onions, which sent forth a most savoury odour. This was another

instance of a love of enjoyment at the expense of comfort, and any person, visiting the family in the day-time, would have had no doubt of their being in a state of destitution,—an error into which medical men and benevolent ladies are very apt to fall, from not having opportunities of distinguishing between the real and the apparent, and from attributing the temporary effects they witness to unavoidable poverty, instead of to systematic improvidence. The consequence is, that though the course they pursue administers present alleviation, it tends to permanent aggravation.*

In further illustration of the difference between real and apparent destitution, I will mention the following fact. An owner of small houses in the parish of Limehouse about a year ago sought before me to be excused from paying his rates, on the ground that he could get no rent from his tenants. I told him I had little doubt but that they spent in gin what they ought to pay him. He said he had no doubt of it too; and being asked why he did not distrain, he replied, there was no furniture in any of his tenements to distrain upon, but that the people having gotten possession spent their earnings in eating and drinking, and other indulgences, and set him at defiance.

This is a numerous class in London, and a class which meets with great support from unthinking and mistaken benevolence. Indeed it may be taken as a rule, to which there are few exceptions, that where there is much apparent destitution there is at least as much real misconduct and improvidence. All barefooted, shirtless beggars are vagabonds of the first class. Perhaps an alteration in the law, by giving a sort of summary process of ejectment by magistrates in such cases as those in Limehouse, might operate as a salutary check to a practice detrimental to property, but still more so to morals.

It is to be observed, that where there is property without any recognised owner, or where the proprietors of small houses, from having other means, or from being wearied out, or from indolent

* [At one of the many meetings convened to consider questions relating to the poor that I have attended, I was greatly struck by the remark of a speaker who had made it his business to visit the lowest neighbourhoods of the metropolis on all days and at all hours; and who earnestly entreated the clergy and the district visitors present to pay their visits every now and then at unusual times when they were not likely to be expected. He promised them that if they would select the Saturday night they should see the recipients of their bounty during the week in the very highest state of bacchanalian enjoyment. I can strengthen this advice by at least one case in point. A benevolent gentleman was induced to give a pair of shoes to a girl who alleged that that was all she wanted to go into service. He gave her the shoes, and took down her address, which, strange to say, turned out to be the true one. Being curious to see what sort of a place it was that the girl lived in, he sought her out, and found her in a high state of drunken excitement. She had sold the shoes and was fast qualifying herself for a fresh appeal to the charitable.]

benevolence, become negligent, improvidence, debasement, and apparent difficulty of living, start into life like weeds and vermin amongst ruins, to the injury of all around. The want of cultivation and strict government will generate, even in the midst of wealth, poverty and all its appendages.

If any street in London were to be abandoned by its owners, it would soon produce appearances and realities such as are described by Mr. Inglis, in spite of any system of poor-laws that could be devised; whilst, on the other hand, with attention and efficient government, poor-laws would ere long become a dead letter. Of this I am confident, and I apprehend there is no country in which legal provision is in reality less requisite than in Ireland. Notwithstanding the many disadvantages it at present labours under, it is, by the accounts of all who have no end to answer by perverting the truth, in a state of rapid improvement, and only requires strict and impartial government to draw capital to its vast capabilities, sufficient for the employment of whatever surplus labour there may be.

Nothing could be more withering to the brightening prospects of that hitherto ill-fated country, than the establishment of Mr. Inglis's false principle of forcing men to contribute, in the ratio of their abundance, to a mere palliative to present evils at the expense of future independence. What Irish labourers can be, when thrown with sufficient stimulus upon their own resources, is manifested in the enterprise of the harvesters in seeking employment here, in their frugality of living, and in their care of their earnings. What they are under the influence of poor-laws I can speak from six years' constant and ample experience; and I will add an extract in point from the preface to the second edition of my pamphlet on pauperism, published in 1831, and fully confirmed by subsequent observation.

"I will here observe of the Irish paupers, that they are much more accomplished in their vocation than the English. They are more plausible and persevering, more cunning and deceitful, more skilled in turning the law to their advantage, and more ready to suffer privation for the sake of indulgence. This consideration, coupled with the inexperience of the administrators, makes me think that poor-laws, however modified, would soon lead in Ireland even to greater evils than they have ever produced in this country. I should apprehend, too, but this I advance with diffidence, that where the Catholic religion prevails there would probably be an increased tendency to relax the administration, and most of all where there is a Catholic population under Protestant proprietors.

"The *real* point to be aimed at for the improvement of Ireland, or indeed of any country, is the raising the moral standard. Now, in my

opinion, poor-laws by their very nature have a directly contrary effect. I think I cannot illustrate this better than by the following anecdote, which I once heard from a gentleman connected with Guy's Hospital. The founder left to the trustees a fund to be distributed to such of his relatives as should from time to time fall into distress. The fund at length became insufficient to meet the applications, and the trustees, thinking it hard to refuse any claimants, trenched upon the funds of the Hospital, the consequence of which was, as my informant stated, that as long as the practice lasted no Guy was ever known to prosper. So that if any individual could be wicked enough to wish the ruin of his posterity for ever, his surest means would be to leave his property in trust to be distributed to them only when in distress. Just so it has been with the legal provision for the poor in England. With slight variations the fund required has, from its institution, been continually increasing, and the progress of moral improvement has, in consequence, been greatly retarded.

"I will further remark with respect to Ireland, that I think periodical assessments, levied something in the same manner as the poor's-rates here, and judiciously and impartially employed in public improvements, would be productive of unmixed advantage to the country. But if such a fund were suffered to be applied in any degree upon the specious principle of relieving the necessitous, instead of the sound one of purchasing labour in open market, I have no doubt but that it would ultimately be productive of far more evil than good."

I will conclude this article with another extract from p. 22 of the same pamphlet, descriptive of the baneful effect of pauperism, or a dependence on legal provision, on the human mind, as a warning against its farther extension.

"The extent to which deceit and self-debasement enter into the composition of pauperism is quite inconceivable, except to those who have, as it were, anatomized the subject. The whole life of a pauper is a lie—his whole study imposition; he lives by appearing not to be able to live; he will throw himself out of work, aggravate disease, get into debt, live in wretchedness, persevere in the most irksome applications, nay, bring upon himself the encumbrance of a family, for no other purpose than to get his share from the parish. It is his constant aim to make everything he has of as little value as possible; and he is consequently often obliged to throw away advantages, and to use those he keeps so as to be of little comfort to him. He necessarily becomes what he feigns to be, and drags after him, without remorse, his family and all within his influence. Such is the operation of the poor-laws, that deceit and self-debasement in various degrees may be taken to be of the very essence of pauperism. Pique and spite are frequent causes of it, and are generally the worst cases to deal

with; but deceit and debasement are the means necessarily used to succeed.

"I have known a man who earned a guinea a week, because his brother could earn more, keep himself out of work for eight months, with occasional intervals, and during the time starve himself and his family on eight shillings a week from the parish, which he contrived to get by various impositions and persevering application. I knew another, with a wife and family, who could earn sixteen shillings a week at out-door work, but because a fellow-workman received eighteen shillings he went to weaving, at which he could only earn ten shillings, and got two shillings more from the parish. I have known cases of men procuring themselves and their families to be turned out of their houses, in order to compel the parish to find them residences, though they well knew they should suffer by the change. I knew a case of a woman, who having heard that a neighbour had had some shoes given to her children by the parish, swore she would have some too; and being refused, set off to the magistrate in a borrowed costume of misery, with all her children in rags, and before she arrived concealed their shoes behind a hedge. Having told her tale of woe and oppression, and finally succeeded, she sold the parish shoes the next day for half their value, and squandered the money.

"Instances like the above, though of common occurrence, will generally escape detection, or if the imposition is stated, it will hardly be credited—especially against the solemn and artful asseverations of the paupers themselves, who having once made an application it is a point of honour amongst them not to be foiled; as it is to get as much as others, who are in anything like similar circumstances. Besides, they will designedly plunge themselves so deeply into distress that there is no alternative but to help them out. I have frequently heard paupers use this phrase: 'I will throw myself upon you, and then you *must* relieve me.'

"In almost all cases paupers have more than they choose to state, and perhaps, from the way in which they receive it, more than they are aware of. I knew the case of a labourer who called his earnings 8*s.* 6*d.* a week, and on that statement had his rent partly paid by the parish; yet it was afterwards proved that he had advantages equal to more than 20*s.* a week. He must have known that he had more than he said, but he certainly was not aware to what extent, and the appearance of himself and his family, and their apparent mode of living, were in conformity to the sum he gave in. Mismanagement is a necessary art with paupers, and they are at such pains to conceal their real state from others, that they very rarely know it themselves."

PAROCHIAL IMPROVEMENT.

The following extract is from the introduction to a pamphlet of mine on Pauperism, first published in 1826.* I give it here, not on account of the particular subject, but in connexion with the preceding article, as a practical proof of what might be effected in general improvement by an organized superintendence under the authority of the law. I was armed with no authority but that of influence of my own creating, and had no organization but a voluntary and very imperfect one. The place, when I began, was considered in a hopeless state of demoralization, and its name was a sort of by-word in the country round; yet a great deal of the attention I bestowed upon it was beyond what was required for its management, and had for its object my own instruction. I made it my constant aim to establish the principle of self-government, and the consequence has been that the system I introduced works well to this day.

"In August, 1817, an opportunity occurred to me of commencing an experiment on the subject of pauperism in the township of Stretford, in the parish of Manchester—a district partly manufacturing, but principally agricultural, and containing about 2000 acres of land and as many inhabitants. I began by procuring the adoption of somewhat the same plan as Mr. Sturges Bourne's Select Vestry, not then legalized—a suggestion of the neighbouring magistrate, whom I consulted in the first instance, and whose co-operation, as well as that of the most respectable inhabitants, I uniformly met with, during a residence at intervals of three years and a half. I soon found that the magistrates as usual had no confidence in the overseers, to the great gain of the paupers, whose appeals from the overseers to the magistrates were incessant. I found that the paupers were insolent in the extreme to the farmers, and in a great measure their masters—that the paupers were leagued together to get as much from the rates as

* [This useful little work was reprinted more than once; and an abridged edition was put forth in 1831. This was dedicated to the Ladies of England, and recommended to their patronage. Its price on fine paper was 2*s.*, and on coarse, for distribution, 6*d.* In this edition, the author is designated as "one of the Police Magistrates of the Metropolis," a post for which he showed himself admirably fitted.

It may be worth while to mention that the title-page of this pamphlet on Pauperism bears the following apt quotation from "Don Quixote." They are the shrewd words of Sancho Panza, singularly applicable to the island we live in:—

"I intend to clear this isle of filth and rubbish, of all rogues and vagrants, idle lurks and sturdy beggars. For I would have you know, my good friends, that your slothful, lazy, dissolute people in the commonwealth, are like drones in a hive, that waste and devour the honey which the labouring bees do gather."]

possible, and that they practised all sorts of tricks and impositions for that purpose—that the industrious labourers were discouraged—the well-disposed inhabitants afraid, or persuaded that it was in vain to interfere—and every individual driven to do the best he could for himself or his connexions at the general expense.

"For some time the paupers tried every art to deceive or tire me out, and some of the ratepayers who were ousted from the management thwarted me in secret; but the good effects of the new system became so apparent, both as to economy and good order, that opposition grew less and less, and at last suddenly and entirely ceased. I spent almost my whole time for some months in visiting the labouring classes—in making myself master of their habits—in explaining to them the causes of their distress—and in enforcing, as occasions arose, the doctrines of Mr. Malthus,* which I took care to put in the most familiar and pointed manner I was able, and I was surprised to see the effect generally produced—it was as if a new light had broken in upon my hearers. By degrees I gained their confidence—they constantly applied to me to settle their disputes, or for legal advice, or for assistance in whatever difficulties they found themselves, and as I was frequently able to serve them, I found that circumstance of great advantage in carrying into execution any measure of severity or privation.

"With respect to former abuses in the management, I made it a rule never to look back, but held that neglect on one side and imposition on the other had balanced the account, and that it would be better to look only to the future. I found this plan attended with the best effects. Those who had really wished for what was right were not revolted by any appearance of harshness; and instead of wrangling about the past, everything went on well for the present, and not one retrograde movement was made. A few hours in a week soon became sufficient to do all the business, and at last a trifling superintendence was alone necessary. Information came to me from all quarters—the league amongst the paupers was dissolved—appeals to the magistrates, whose unvaried countenance I experienced, entirely ceased—the rates were considerably diminished—the labourers depended more upon themselves, and were generally better off—and, what was most important, new principles were gaining ground.

"The amount of money paid to the poor during the years of my occasional superintendence, exclusive of the maintenance of those in the workhouse and of the expense of a few articles of clothing, was as follows:—

* I mean the doctrines Mr. Malthus himself laid down, not those ignorantly attributed to him.

		£	s.	d.
From March, 1817 to March,	1818 . . .	812	16	6
1818	1819 . . .	537	19	7½
1819	1820 . . .	489	12	6
1820	1821 . . .	368	4	0

"When I first interfered in August, 1817, it was the practice to admit families into the workhouse; at the time my interference ceased, the number of inmates was reduced to eight—viz., six aged persons and two young women—one of the latter half idiotic, and the other labouring under severe disease. Three of the old men broke stones for the roads, and the idiotic girl maintained herself. In fact, a workhouse was become quite unnecessary. Before the commencement of the alteration of system, the expenses of pauperism were rapidly increasing, and the reduction was solely owing to that species of amendment in management, which may be put in practice under any circumstances."

Note to Second Edition, published in 1831.

"The last opportunity I had of seeing the effects of my system, was in September, 1828, when I made the following extract from the Poor's Books.

	£	s.	d.
May, 1817, Monthly payments to regular poor. .	68	3	6
1818	33	12	0
1827	15	2	0
1828	13	10	0

"In April of this present year, 1835, I attended a town's meeting for half an hour, after a lapse of fourteen years, and found the business carried on just as when I was there before; and I learnt it was in contemplation to abandon the workhouse on the 21st of this month, as useless."

PRISON DISCIPLINE.

Prison discipline, like many other subjects which occupy public attention, is not worth the time and expense which are bestowed upon it. After the repeated experiments that have been made to reform criminals in prisons, and the signal want of success, I should think the hope must by this time be given up even by the most sanguine.

I believe that after the immense expense that has been lavished upon the attempt, the instances of reform really attributable to the system, do not amount to one in five hundred; and if it is calculated how many might have been saved from a prison at all by the application of the same means to the purposes of good government, it must be concluded that

prison discipline with a view to reform is a great deal worse than useless. But it is bad in another point of view. The sole end of imprisonment ought to be punishment, in order to deter from crime, and punishment by a separation from the world and all its advantages; and the greater the contrast, the greater will be the punishment.

Now, in the reform system, however strict the discipline is professed to be, there is necessarily a degree of attention and indulgence which much mitigates the pains of imprisonment, and causes the criminal to quit his confinement with any feeling but of that dread which ought to operate as a lesson to himself, and a warning to others. To the neglected wretches, who form the bulk of prisoners, a reform prison offers no terrors. They do not like confinement and regularity, but then they find so many sets-off in the attentions they meet with, and the comforts provided for them,—that is, comforts compared with their frequent privations,—and their physical state becomes so much improved, that when they come again into the world, their retrospect is far from one of unmixed repugnance to a prison life; and if they return, as they generally do, to their vicious courses, the sufferings they bring upon themselves must make them frequently almost sigh after a renewal of restraint.

It often occurs to me, when I am committing disorderlies to prison for short periods, that to many of them the prospect of control is not altogether disagreeable; and if we reflect what sufferings they must entail upon themselves by their gross irregularities, it is not to be wondered at that it should be so.

I consider, then, all attempts at reform within the walls of a prison as misplaced, and as contrary to, and defeating, the true end of imprisonment, which should present a striking contrast to a state of liberty and its enjoyments.

The second object of prison discipline, and that which certainly is now occupying public attention, is to render prisons as effective places of punishment as possible; but this, under efficient government out of doors, would be a very simple process indeed. My objection to the course pursued is, that it is turning attention in the wrong direction, and causing neglect, where attention is most of all wanted.

If I were asked what I thought would be the best mode of prison discipline for diminishing the present mass of crime, I should answer, that there ought to be no such mass, and that the question is not a question of prison discipline, but of government. Prison discipline is no cure for systematic crime to the present extent existing, but the cure is to be found in government discipline independent of prisons. All systematic crime arises from defective government, and is beyond the reach of prisons. Isolated crime only is that which cannot be alto-

gether prevented by good government, and it is the proper object for punishment and prevention by imprisonment.

Supposing systematic crime to be done away with by good government, then, and not till then, comes the question of prison discipline in its true and very narrow limits. I have remarked before, that imprisonment should present a striking contrast to liberty and its enjoyments. There are two ways of effecting this; one, which is the way at present being pursued, is to make imprisonment very severe, and the other, which is the way that ought to be pursued, is by improvement in government to render liberty and its enjoyments as sweet as possible, so that a simple separation from them, within four walls, may be sufficient punishment without any refinements and contrivances of severity. A necessity for severe punishments is a scandal to a government.

When the inside of a prison is made the subject of great attention, it proves that what is on the outside is the subject of great neglect. Govern men well, and crime will be unfrequent, and simple confinement sufficient punishment. Individuals above the neglected mass are not deterred from the commission of crime by any consideration of degrees of severity of confinement, but by confinement itself; and if there were no neglected mass, there would be no necessity for what is called prison discipline; it would not be worth a thought.

If an agriculturist were asked how to clear a marsh from weeds, he would answer, drain it, and what spring up after will easily be subdued. So, to clear the country from crime, govern well, and the individual cases which arise will be disposed of without difficulty. Great as is the quantity of crime at present existing, it is to me quite astonishing, considering the quantity of neglect, that there is not an immense deal more, and thence I infer that, with adequate attention in the proper direction, there would be an immense diminution. The principal means of accomplishing this is by moral influence to be derived from improved parochial government, carried on by the most worthy part of the community, most of whom now either take no part in public affairs, or employ their efforts on expedients for government, instead of in government. This is the only system for a free and Christian country, and to this we must come.

[It is much to be regretted that the author of "The Original" did not live to complete his inspection of Belgian prisons, to return to England, and to resume his literary labours in the spring of 1836, according to the design announced on the eve of his departure. The observations and suggestions of one so well prepared to profit by what he saw could not have failed of being both interesting and instructive. But as prison discipline is a subject upon which I have had good

opportunities of forming opinions, I may venture, without presumption, to treat of it, as is done in the short essays that follow].

[CRIME AND CRIMINALS.]

Many things in the condition of England, the character of her population, the habits of her people, and the course of her legislation, greatly tend to the growth of crime. Populous and rich; busy and preoccupied; abounding in large towns with crowded thoroughfares and attractive entertainments; easy of access from Ireland and the Continent; careless, ostentatious, and liberal; given to gambling, intemperance, and indiscriminate alms-giving; impatient of restraint; and having scant respect for law unless enforced by slow, cumbrous, and costly processes; England must needs abound in criminals. Constantly dazzled and tempted by the display of almost unprotected wealth in the most portable and convertible forms, encouraged by the consciousness of the great value of time to those who suffer loss, and of their notorious disinclination to face the delay, trouble, annoyance, expense, and manifold uncertainties of the worst form of trial ever devised by the wit of man; buoyed up by the flattering hope of escape, and threatened with punishments suggestive rather of inconvenience than of suffering, crime has many incentives and few discouragements.

Nor can we ignore the fact that the mass of Englishmen, for reasons not far to seek, if they cannot be justly accused of a morbid sympathy for scoundrels, can certainly be charged with showing undue leniency to crime. There is, in the first place, a consciousness not often expressed in words, that between the crime which gets punished and the sin which does not, there is no very broad line of demarcation, and that, in too many instances, the man or woman who gets shut up in prison is more unlucky, not less guilty, than very many who remain at large. We all more or less, and in our several degrees, feel like the Jews of old who when invited to throw the first stone, slank out one by one. We feel that, in the awful presence of a Searcher of Hearts, it would be but a question of time; that those would leave first whose sins were of the same class, those later whose offences were most nearly allied, those last whose consciences accused them in a more general way. This then is one reason why men treat crime with undue leniency. Another and a very influential one is the absence from most men's minds of the realizing faculty, attribute alike of poet and philosopher, which passes as by intuition from the seen to the unseen, from the criminal to the persons whom he has wronged and the State whose laws he has defied. Nothing can show more clearly

the absence of this valuable faculty from the mental composition of the mass of mankind than the readiness with which they seize on the ludicrous circumstances that surround so many of our crimes. They almost forgive the criminal for the adroitness with which he planned and executed his offence.

The first step therefore towards a better appreciation of crime is that, in all cases, we should try to recollect that every crime has three aspects: one looking towards the criminal himself; another towards the person whom he has wronged and those who are made to suffer through and with him; and the third towards the State, and the community of ratepayers on whom the pecuniary burden of crime must rest.

Another reason for viewing crime with leniency is the wide-spread ignorance of the fact that most of our crimes are committed by habitual criminals, and comparatively few by those in whom crime is but the climax of a short outbreak of dissipation or extravagance at an age when passion is strong, experience limited, and prudence unexercised. A first offence against the law committed under these circumstances is naturally regarded with mixed feelings of anger and compassion. In the case of habitual offenders pity ought to find no place.

But here again, in the case of the habitual criminal, two considerations present themselves which tend to lessen the weight of our condemnation. The offender may have been born and bred in an atmosphere of crime; he may never have been taught better; he does but follow the trade of his ancestors. His surroundings have made him what he is: Society and the State are to blame, not he.

The subject is not yet exhausted. There is still another, and even stronger, plea in extenuation:—the small residue of blame attaching, on this view of their case, to the mass of habitual criminals, may sink to *zero* in some special cases. He may be as irresponsible for cruelty as a hyæna, for theft as a magpie. If a thief, he may be such an one as the virtuous lady who could obey every commandment of the Decalogue but the eighth, or like the lunatic who could not eat his meals unless he had been allowed to steal them first; if a shedder of blood, such as she was whom her watchful brother led at intervals to the asylum, when the horrid impulse grew too strong for any but external control.

These are cases of madness, usually so called. But besides these there are the imbecile, or weak-minded, offenders against the law (a much more numerous class), who are equally irresponsible, though for a different reason. The passion of the monomaniac rages against reason and conscience of normal strength and development, and overpowers them; the passions of the imbecile meet with no restraint from within; for none of the higher faculties have any existence in his one-sided and defective mental composition.

All these considerations, uniting in various proportions in different cases, tend in a very inconvenient manner to soften down that abhorrence of crime which it is the interest of society to encourage; and this is a fact which ought not to be lost sight of by those who read the Essays that follow.

[THEORIES OF PUNISHMENT.]

In families and schools, in barracks and ships, and in prisons, punishment is inflicted for more reasons than one. Authority and discipline must be maintained, the allotted task must be performed, gross vices must be visited by such punishment as shall satisfy the sense of justice of boy and man, the thief must make restitution, the brute must suffer pain, the incorrigible must be driven out; and all these pains and penalties must be inflicted with such publicity and notoriety as to prove warnings to all whom it may concern.

And so it must be with the punishments inflicted by the State. The authority and supremacy of the law must be upheld, life and property protected, contracts for work and service enforced, man's sense of justice satisfied by the sufficient and appropriate punishment of great offences; the criminal should if possible be reformed, and those most exposed to temptation ought to be warned and deterred. Now, if we try to make all these acts of discipline square with one narrow theory of punishment, we shall assuredly fail. A "Theory of Satisfaction," by which I mean such punishments for crime as shall content the just cravings of the great mass of mankind, appears to cover the greatest extent of ground. If we test this theory by the simplest of all possible cases, that of wilful murder, in which the wrong done is beyond repair, and restitution in kind is impossible, the theory is found to hold water. The punishment of death grows out of our very tenderness for human life. It is the measure of the importance we attach to it. It is only among nations that have strong homicidal tendencies that a spurious tenderness for life, and that distorted humanity which deems imprisonment for life less cruel than its sudden extinction, shows itself.

There is another theory of punishment which its advocates are fond of upholding by quoting a well-known sentence of Judge Heath, something to this effect: "Prisoner at the bar, you are sentenced to death not for stealing a horse, but that horses may not be stolen." In this case, the "theory of satisfaction" would have found its expression in some such words as these: "Prisoner at the bar, you have been found guilty of stealing a horse. The law punishes your crime with death, and it is my painful duty to pass sentence upon you accordingly. It gives me some satisfaction to think that your punishment must needs act as an example to deter others."

In the case of crimes punished not by death, but by imprisonment, a third theory of punishment finds place. The State is supposed to have only one object in view, and that is the reformation of the criminal. Of the vast importance of bringing this about, especially in the case of those who must be let loose upon the public after the expiration of their sentences, no one can doubt; but this object, again, ought to be subordinate to the satisfaction of that sense of justice which it is the interest no less than the duty of society to promote in all its members. "Prisoner at the bar! you have been found guilty of setting fire to a barn, and have destroyed much food and other property. The law awards to your crime a heavy punishment. I sentence you accordingly to ten years' penal servitude. You will have time and opportunity to reflect on your past life, and every encouragement and assistance in carrying into effect any resolutions of amendment that you may form." The true theory of punishment would shape itself into such words as these.

Satisfaction, then, as the primary aim, with determent of others and reformation of the criminal himself as incidents, constitutes, as I venture to think, the true theory of punishment.

[RESTITUTION.]

Of late years the idea of Restitution as a procedure certainly dictated by justice, perhaps also by expediency, has more than once forced its way to the front. When it may have been first broached I do not know; but as early as 1848 I expressed myself respecting it in words somewhat to the following effect.

Under our present system of punishment, no provision whatever is made for the restitution of stolen property. Apply this mode of procedure to the case of a boy robbed by his schoolfellow. Would he not think it very hard if the master did not insist on the replacement of the stolen property? Would not the moral sense of every boy in the school be outraged if he did not cause it to be given back? By parity of reasoning, the citizen who has been robbed has a right to demand restitution to the uttermost farthing. And here imprisonment comes into play for all crimes attended with loss of property or its wilful destruction, and also with the lesser forms of personal injury. I can conceive no moral discipline equal to this act of restitution. It would be infinitely more efficacious than sermons or personal exhortations of any kind; and as restitution could only take place by labour in prison, we should get that too. But a necessary condition of this system of labour in prison, for the purpose of restitution, must be that the culprit shall earn not merely the means of repayment, but the cost of his

board, lodging, and clothing. This cost must be first defrayed, and the restitution of the stolen property must then come out of the surplus. From this surplus fund, too, ought to come all the estimated cost of the apprehension of the offender, including the time of the policeman, office fees, and allowances to witnesses. The food supplied to each prisoner ought to cost a defined fraction of the money earned by him, whatever that may be. The work done should be as various as possible, in order to suit the capacities, previous employments, or habits of life of the culprits; and it should compete as little as possible with the labour of the non-criminal part of the community. Under this scheme the wages paid for all prison labour would, of course, be the fair current rate of wages for the same work performed elsewhere, and the sums thus earned should be carried to the prisoner's credit.

Some crimes, such as the worst offences against person and property, would have to be dealt with after a different fashion. There are others again in which prolonged imprisonment may be necessary as a measure of precaution, especially crimes arising out of a dangerous state of exasperation or excitement, personal or political, in which lapse of time becomes an element in individual or national safety.

As I look upon this theory of restitution as being highly important in every point of view, economical and moral, I will pursue the subject a little further, and give the outlines of a working plan which I suggested in 1849.

I begin by assuming that every crime is to be considered as a two-fold offence—an offence against the law which forbids it, and against the individual whom it injures. On the part of the State the punishment might reasonably consist of a fine of fixed, but not excessive, amount, inasmuch as the offence against the State is not measured by the value of the thing stolen or embezzled. In all cases of personal injury, the work of restitution might be made to date from the recovery of the injured party, all prior earnings being devoted to his support. If the injured person were one of the police force, this procedure would be specially worthy of commendation. The sentence, as far as it relates to the injured party, would take the form of a debt contracted by the offender, who would, therefore, take with him to prison a printed account consisting of the following items:—

1. Fine. 2. Expenses of police, police court, witnesses, &c., at per hour, and incidental expenses. 3. Value of stolen property, or estimated money value of personal injury.

To the working of such a system of punishment two things will be seen to be essential: the money credited to the prisoner should represent the full value of his earnings calculated at the current rate of wages, after deducting the cost of maintenance in prison; and arrange-

ments must be made for supplying every variety of occupation previously followed by the prisoners. Those who had never learnt a trade would have to be taught one by which they could earn money with least loss of time.

These considerations open out a new question—that of prison labour, which is well worthy of separate treatment.

[PRISON LABOUR.]

I shall treat this subject mainly in reference to its bearing on restitution as a possible element in the punishment of all offences against property or person which admit of being measured by money; and I shall distinguish between the convict service, with the working of which, not many years since, I was familiar, and the system of our county and borough gaols, of which I have much less personal knowledge.

Beginning then with our convict establishments, I may remark that the able and enlightened gentlemen who preside over them have taught us many a valuable lesson, and this among the number, that there is no kind of labour, skilled or unskilled, which the men and women under their control cannot be made to perform. The men make bricks, quarry stones, do the work of smiths and carpenters, and erect buildings, from rough sheds up to comfortable houses, strong prisons, and ornate places of worship; and they perform every kind of agricultural labour. Many enter prison as skilled artisans, and all may leave it masters of some trade or occupation by which they may earn an honest livelihood, if they will. Even the women are being trained to the production of tesselated pavements, of which fine specimens may be seen at South Kensington and in the crypt of St. Paul's. In some occupations, as in mat-making, the prisoner competes with the labour of the outside world; but, as a rule, the work done is primarily for the supply of their own wants, and, when those are satisfied, in the service of the Government, whether in the shape of great public works, such as breakwaters, fortifications, docks, and so forth, or of manufactured articles supplied to Government offices, or required by bodies of men in the service of the public, such as soldiers, sailors, and police.

To understand fully the working of this great industrial system, it should be borne in mind that the prison life of the convict (now a minimum of five years) is divided into two parts, one of nine months, or thereabouts, spent in separation, the remainder in associated labour; and that it is during the nine months of separation that the authorities are, as it were, driven into direct competition with outside labour. I

say direct competition, by way of distinction from the less direct form of it which consists in supplying the Government itself with labour, or the products of labour; and it is to the first form of competition and its causes that I am anxious to draw the attention of the public.

Imprisonment in separate cells, which are workshops by day and sleeping rooms at night, entailing solitude relieved only by silent association in exercising ground, school, and chapel; and by the official visits of doctors, chaplains, and scripture-readers, of warders, instructors in trades, governors and directors; is a system imported from America many years ago, and now naturalized in England. To this form of imprisonment, when prolonged to several months, there are, as I think, serious objections, to which the necessity of direct competition with outside labour is by no means the most serious, though it must act as an obstacle in the way of Restitution as an element of punishment.

I have never been able to view this system with favour, surrounded, though it be, with every reasonable precaution, especially in the power entrusted to the medical officer to recommend association, or removal to the infirmary, whenever the health, whether of mind or body, is threatened. I recognise the advantage of a short period of isolation, during which the convict may subside into a quiet state, think seriously of his past life if so inclined, and profit by such counsel and consolation as may be offered him. During this period, too, the needful arrangements may be made for his removal to public works.

If this preliminary period were fixed at one month, for those who are under sentence for their first known offence, and for a period not exceeding three months for habitual offenders, all the good the system is capable of effecting would, in my judgment, have been brought about. I have no faith in prolonged solitude. It is physically and morally mischievous both for men and women, and objectionable even in the case of the weaker sex, who are found, as a rule, to prefer the isolation of their own cells, to the association which male convicts (also as a rule) scheme to bring about. But I of course assume that convicts of either sex, wherever they are, occupy separate cells at night.

If the period of separation were shortened as proposed, there would be no need of competition with outside labour, though it might be expedient to teach all uninstructed men and women the use of the needle, and men some simple handicraft such as mat-making.

I will assume the wholesome principle of Restitution to be about to be put in force in some happy Utopia somewhere, and in such a country as England is, with a large sea-board, large tracts of land still unreclaimed, roads in all directions admitting of improvement,

and the problem of draining our large cities and of getting their liquid treasure on to the ground, still unsolved. In such a country there is no conceivable limit to the labour for which the Government as the purse-bearer of the ratepayer, could afford to pay the current rate of wages, after deduction made of the full cost of maintenance.

Restitution could only be carried into effect by means of arrangements to employ each prisoner in the work to which he had been previously accustomed, or for which he should prove himself best fitted. For men trained to out-door work it would be easy to find occupation of many different kinds; but for the mixed population of our convict prisons new arrangements would have to be made, including provision for every kind of skilled labour, and for every sort of profession, with the exception only of such as would be excluded by the very nature of the case. Our prisons themselves would have to be built upon new principles. They must be temporary erections, chiefly of wood and corrugated iron, built up of elements easily put together, and as easily taken down, set up on waste lands belonging to or purchased by the Government, and such as are commonly deemed irreclaimable—that is to say, reclaimable only by much labour and a large use of manure. The plot of land chosen for the purpose should first be surveyed by a skilful person, and laid out as an estate, the place of the house or mansion being occupied by the temporary prison; and the first employment of the inmates being the erection of good substantial farm buildings on the most approved plan, going hand in hand with drainage and the making of roads. The work of reclamation would then be taken in hand, and the estate be brought by degrees into a high state of cultivation. The last work of construction would consist in the erection of good cottages capable of accommodating the labourers likely to be required for the future culture of the ground. The work thus complete in all its parts, with the exception of the farm-house or mansion, the estate should be put up to auction and sold to the highest bidder, the purchase-money being carried to a fund out of which the wages of labour would be defrayed.

As to the land to be chosen for reclamation, the most suitable would perhaps consist of tracts on the sea-shore covered with shingle, the removal and utilization of which would form the first step in the process of reclamation. This process of reclaiming land, and creating saleable estates, would harmonize well with the improvement of roads and the making of open cuttings or canals, for the removal and profitable application of the sewage of neighbouring cities.

The foregoing suggestions apply in the first instance to our convict establishments, of which all the inmates are adults. In the case of our county and borough gaols, the element of juvenile offenders would

have to be first eliminated, and the system applied to adult criminals with modifications rendered necessary by the variable length of their sentences. One indirect consequence of the introduction of Restitution as an element of punishment would be the lengthening of sentences now much too short to be of any service to the prisoners themselves.

The same principles of treatment would apply to women as to men, only that in their case the prison might be a permanent structure. They too should be paid current wages for the work of the laundry, for making and mending clothes for themselves as well as for the male convicts, and for such supplies as they could furnish to the Government.

I was on the point of forgetting a very necessary adjunct to the work of restitution. The prisoner ought to be detained in prison long enough to earn for his own use when discharged such a sum as would prevent him from alleging that he was sent away from prison penniless.

[REFORMATION OF PRISONERS.]

I fully sympathize with the author of "The Original" in what he says of the little probability there is of reforming prisoners. The imbecile cannot be reformed, the habitual criminal will not, and the man who is possessed by that form of monomania which finds an indescribable pleasure in the act to which it impels him, is equally beyond the reach of exhortation. The criminals who remain after the separation of these three classes are just as likely to repent and not more so, than persons outside who differ from them only in not having been found out, tried, and condemned. These men and women differ from thousands of respectable persons more by the one criminal act than in morals or religion; and it is this section of casual criminals which supplies the characters that are reformed, or seem to be so. They do not repeat their offences simply because they do not fall a second time into the embarrassments which led to them; and they would receive sufficient punishment for every practical purpose if their period of solitary confinement were abridged to a month, and they were then sent off to hard, productive labour. Of the thousands of convicts that have come under my observation, the only one who displayed real grief belonged to this class. He was a railway clerk, had a wife and large family to whom he was tenderly attached, and under the pressure of want, the result perhaps of some imprudence, had robbed the till. His grief, expressed by tears and sobs, was the most painful exhibition of the kind I have ever seen. He was placed in association, employed as a nurse in the infirmary, and treated with all the kindness in our power to show him. This, I repeat, is the only

case of plain outspoken grief I ever met with; and I may add that there are few things in prison more calculated to excite surprise than the quiet, matter-of-fact way in which criminals who have occupied respectable positions in society—doctors, lawyers, clergymen, merchants, bankers—take to their new strange life in prison.

One difficulty in the way of reformation of criminals arises from a circumstance of which inexperienced persons can scarcely realize the existence. I mean the moral and religious sentiments which play upon the surface of their strangely organized minds, but which express themselves in exhortations to others, not in practical application to their own cases. Charles Dickens became aware of this fact, and accordingly he faithfully represents the criminal as lavish of pious exhortations to his friends outside, but either silent as to himself or alluding to his own crime as a misfortune.

It is not, therefore, necessary to assume that the criminal who takes kindly to the religious exhortations of the chaplain or scripture-reader is a monster of insincerity. His religious emotions have in them a certain reality; but one condition of their existence is that they shall be applicable to others rather than himself. If any one, lacking experience in such matters, should feel disposed to be angry with me for being thus plain of speech, I would remind him that he has had no opportunity of becoming acquainted with that strangest of all psychological compounds, the mind of the habitual criminal. I well remember a man occupying a respectable position in society, gaining credit for a most charitable disposition, and attending religious services, even as a communicant, who for years together had been day by day plotting and practising the most cruel and heartless frauds, culminating in one of the worst offences known to the law, when the time of exposure came, taking quite naturally to the reading of good books and sermons, and professing to derive the greatest comfort from them. Even in this case I should hesitate to affirm that the religious emotions were altogether unreal.

There is one remark growing out of the foregoing considerations that I must make, and I insist upon it with all sincerity and earnestness—I mean the worse than uselessness of all volunteer efforts at reformation of criminals. There is no outbreak of religious zeal divorced from discretion more to be deprecated than this. Its victims belong to a class common among women, rare among men, who have taken up with the odd notion that the only occupation not requiring preliminary training and experience is that of instructing and reforming others. Add to this misconception that strange fascination and attraction which vice and crime exercise over certain minds, and we have all that is necessary to equip a man or woman for Quixotism of

this order. I have had experience of two ill-advised attempts of this class. A lady of pleasing exterior and charming manners, having an opportunity of thus dealing with female convicts, began with the most sanguine expectations, but ended in blank despair, giving expression in my own hearing to the wish that it were possible to visit these women with corporal punishment. The other case was, if possible, still more instructive. In one of those moments of weakness, to which even the Home Office is liable, permission was given to a little group of ladies to attempt the reformation of the female convicts. At that time a very good-looking Irish girl, who had run a career of outrageous dissipation in Dublin, and had contrived to qualify herself for penal servitude, occupied a cell by herself to which she had been but a short time before removed. She had managed to get herself admitted to the infirmary, and occupied one bed in an eight-bedded ward. She professed serious illness and extreme weakness, and fortified her statements by a very disgraceful imposition. While she was under observation, and before we could decide on the proper course to be followed, it happened that, during one of my visits, a prisoner who was suffering from a long and painful illness, complained, with extreme reluctance and every expression of grief, of the utterly revolting language in which her neighbour habitually indulged. This led me to make inquiry of the other patients, as well as of the female warder, who fully confirmed the statements of the complainant. There was therefore no alternative but to place the offender in the cell in which the lady volunteers found her: and she conducted herself in such a manner as induced them to repeat their visits; and, among other attentions, to present her with choice flowers. Now, it happened on one occasion, that just as these ladies had left her cell, and were taking leave of her as they stood in the passage, an official followed in their wake; and he assured me that he had never seen such an expression of triumphant cunning on any face in all his large experience.

There is one fact connected with this instructive case that might have suggested a doubt to the mind of these fair volunteers as to the unmixed purity of their motives. This convict was a very pretty woman. And I must be permitted to doubt whether in this, as in so many other cases, this outside comeliness may not have been the real recommendation to mercy. I recollect a very instructive illustration of this human weakness in the other sex. A good-looking girl posted herself at a highly productive crossing which lay in the path of a noble and most estimable member of the legislature, who from time to time dropped a shilling into her hand. After a time it occurred to him that it would be a good work to educate this interesting person; and he accordingly desired her to tell her father of his good intentions, and

give him the result when next he passed that way. The reply was such as might have been expected. The girl was bidden to return to her noble patron her father's most respectful and grateful acknowledgments; but he regretted to say that he could not afford it.

Now that I am on the subject of personal appearance, I should like to record my impressions of convict physiognomy. As a rule I have found both men and women, but the men especially, plain and often ugly. But to this rule there are many exceptions in both sexes. I well recollect a notorious jewel robber, and a woman who passed as his wife, being in form and feature singularly handsome, and their beauty shone through their prison dress; and I also call to mind the very handsomest boy's face I ever saw as belonging to an incorrigible thief. If I were asked to compare the whole convict community to some mixed body outside, say to the fellows and members of the learned societies, I should find the same sort of difficulty in deciding between them that once assailed the dazzled shepherd of Mount Ida. I think it probable however, that, taking feature by feature, and face by face, and setting the convicts on one side and the philosophers on the other, there would be a small remnant of unmatched ugliness on the side of the former, added to that which is rare in any class outside our prisons, faces made up of two sides of unequal length or dissimilar proportion united in the central line.

[PRISON PUNISHMENTS.]

This subject cannot be wholly separated from the larger one of the punishment of crime generally, upon which subject I begin by remarking that no inconsiderable number of persons appear to think it reasonable and right to consult the criminal classes as to the kind of punishment they would prefer, rather than to punish them in the manner most to their advantage. I must also here repeat a remark I have already made, that the nations most addicted to the shedding of blood and most reckless of human life, are those that raise the loudest outcry against the punishment of death, just as the people addicted to violent and bloody outbreaks against the Governments under which they live, insist most strongly on the abolition of that punishment for all the mischievous and cruel deeds which it is possible to stamp with the word "political." So also with flogging, which was formerly so bitterly inveighed against by stump orators addressing London mobs. Their virtuous indignation naturally met with a hearty response from the classes most in danger of incurring that form of punishment.

Now there is much more to be said in favour of both these punishments than many people who pique themselves on humanity and

respect for the dignity of human nature are willing to admit. I will speak of the punishment of death first.

Happily a very serious objection to this punishment has been removed since the culprit has ceased to be a spectacle, and his end an occasion for the gathering of mobs. The death-punishment may now be discussed upon its merits, and fortunately the issue involved may be made very simple by setting aside at once all subordinate considerations, such as that of the costliness of the only conceivable alternative, imprisonment for life. For my own part, I have always advocated the punishment of death (restricted, be it well understood, to the one crime of wilful homicide) on the ground of humanity. When Howard, on Christmas-day, 1786, had his interview with the Emperor of Austria, and took occasion to open his mind freely on the state of the Austrian prisons, the Emperor stopped him with the objection, "*You hang in your country.*" To this Howard replied, "Yes, but death is more desirable than the misery of being shut up in total darkness, chained to the wall, no visitor, no priest, even for two years together." The punishment was "too great for human nature to bear," so great that "many had lost their rational faculties by it." This was a case of imprisonment with cruel aggravations now no longer inflicted in any civilized country; certainly not in England. But treat the murderer with what consideration you will, he must be isolated and confined for life; and the punishment of death is certainly to be preferred to this death in life, even in the interest, every way considered, of the culprit himself. But again, setting aside all minor considerations bearing on the question as it affects the unsentenced murderer, there is still a question relating to him as prisoner which no humane man would dream of disregarding. With the single exception of the disease known as *instinctive mania*, murder is the outcome of two concurrent causes, an excited instinct and a motive. The instinct is but an exaggeration of that which renders it possible for men to live by slaughter; the motive is such as actuates either depraved men and women, or men and women afflicted with madness. The first element survives as one of real danger to all prison officials, whose duty it is to watch and tend the imprisoned murderer; and, strange as it may appear, life is so precious even to the most miserable, that the fear of losing it acts as the most efficient protection we can provide for those whom we expose to risk. In the case of murderers proved to be of unsound mind by the best evidence of which the case admits, this imprisonment for life is shared with all other certified madmen; a fact therefore that does not invalidate the argument in favour of the death-punishment.

In respect to corporal punishment, which is often condemned by the

same parties who object to the punishment of death, much the same line of argument may be maintained. In many of its aspects, it is more merciful than any conceivable substitute; and it has the incidental recommendations of economy, promptitude, and efficiency. To judge of it aright, let us take the case in which it presents itself at one view with all its surroundings. A little urchin robs his schoolfellow of sixpence, and spends it. The schoolmaster is as angry with him as if he had made a false quantity, insists on repayment, reads him a lecture on the sin he has committed, selects the best of his birch rods or a well-waxed cane, administers wholesome corporal punishment, and sends him back to his studies. The notion does not even enter into the master's head of locking up the offender, and feeding him on bread and water. This would be a twofold waste of time; the boy would be kept from his studies, and some servant of the establishment must be employed to look after him. On the other hand, the boy is not degraded by being submitted, in common with his schoolfellows who offend against prosody and grammar, break bounds, and so forth, to corporal punishment, for he feels that the degradation consists not in the flogging, but in the stealing. Now if the same process could be pursued in the case of the juvenile offender, instead of sending him to prison, great and obvious advantages would result from it. But there is a difficulty in the way which magistrates in crowded cities have been more than once made to feel. An Irish boy sentenced to a flogging may entail a howling mob of excited women with all its inconveniences. Happily, in the case of the grown-up criminal, sentenced to flogging for some act of brutality such as stops the mouths of all who are fond of stigmatizing corporal punishment as a degradation, the sentence is carried out in prison, and but for the intrusion of certain representatives of the press, would be surrounded with a most wholesome mystery. But it is as a prison punishment that it is most important to consider it; and it is as such that, not many years since, I had official experience of it. Let it be understood, then, as a fact having a direct bearing on the question, that the governor of a convict prison, no more than a captain of a ship, can order this form of punishment. It is the result of a sentence pronounced, after a formal judicial investigation, by an Inspector, who is armed with the power and functions of a magistrate. The punishment is of very limited application, and its chief use is in putting a stop to some prison epidemic, such as self-mutilation, attempts at escape, assaults on officers, or mutiny. For this purpose it is invaluable. It might be extended with advantage to many other offences, such as refusing to work, and wilful damage to property, as well as to that chronic malady of giving trouble; and it would be so extended were it not for the apprehension inspired by a

regulation which sets off against the one advantage of preventing any tyrannical, cruel, or neglectful proceedings on the part of the prison authorities, the serious drawbacks that cling to trial by jury. If a prisoner were to die within a short period, say two or three days, of being flogged, and the flogging had really nothing to do with the fatal event, the fact might not so present itself to the jury; and, even if it did, there are the comments of the press, eager for some topic that may serve to excite the languid interest of the public, to be encountered.

These are serious difficulties in the way of extending the punishment of flogging to cases in which it would be both efficient and humane. And here again I can insist with a safe conscience on the humanitarian argument in favour of corporal punishment. Let us assume the alternative correction, in the case of such a prison offence as refusing to work, to be a sentence of three days bread and water, and that, influenced by the not unreasonable apprehension just referred to, some degraded wretch (such as he who once said to a magistrate in open court, "I never did work, I never will work, and nobody shall make me work,") contrives by repeated offences nicely calculated to bring about no worse punishment, to incur the penalty of three days' bread and water over and over again. Would it not, I ask, be merciful to sentence this man, in some early stage of his proceedings, to a sound flogging? There can be but one answer to this question, especially as it is obvious that such teasing and fretting punishments must gradually undermine the health. If I am asked whether corporal punishment is effectual. I answer, confidently and as the result of observation, yes. Take this case in point. An Irishman, by profession a surgeon, made several attempts to escape from Millbank, and though sentenced to a flogging, which he bore like a hero, persevered and ultimately succeeded in a manner highly creditable to his ingenuity, perseverance, and pluck. The fact having been whispered about the prison, an escape-epidemic set in, and two prisoners, who had previously signalized themselves by worrying the warders, were sentenced to be flogged. The punishment, though not excessive, was efficiently administered, and with this result:—both prisoners said to the warders, "I did not think the punishment would be so severe; I shall give you no further trouble." They were as good as their word.

But in advocating corporal punishment as more humane than the fretting and teasing proceedings which must be substituted for it, I would by no means ignore the efficacy of another mode of procedure, which once, when giving evidence before a Royal Commission, I found some difficulty in making that very acute lawyer, the late Lord St. Leonards, understand, though I described it in what I thought very

plain language, and illustrated it by a simple enough case in point. I called it "*Conditional Punishment*" and of its efficacy this case is a good illustration. A large, stout, strong prisoner, who had contrived to make himself the terror of the officials by more than one murderous assault, had also contrived to get himself admitted into a cell in the infirmary, and so to comport himself as more than once to bring about a consultation between my predecessor and an eminent mad doctor. As it was not clear that the man's mind was unsound, he was not certified as mad, but remained in prison. When I was brought into contact with him, I found him free from disease, but professing an inability to work, or to go out to exercise. After repeated attempts to convince him that there was nothing in his state to prevent him from at least taking exercise, I determined upon a course which might perhaps bring him to his senses. I told him that the dietary upon which he was living had been framed on the supposition that a prisoner who got that food should both take exercise and do work; that I must reduce the amount of food in accordance with that principle; and, therefore, that on the days upon which he took exercise he should have his dinner, but on those upon which he took no exercise he must forfeit it. This procedure was put in practice, I think, on a Thursday, and the prisoner, alleging that, if he could not have his dinner, he would take no food at all, went without his breakfast and supper for two days following, and refused his breakfast on the Sunday morning. But he could hold out no longer; and on the Sunday contrived to earn his dinner. But, strange to say, this simple treatment brought about such a change in the man's thoughts that he not only took exercise regularly, but, when offered work to do, did it. He was, therefore, discharged from the infirmary, and it was soon known among the prison officials that this Caliban had been transformed to a model prisoner.

This was not a solitary case. The same simple plan played a very efficient part in the cure of a prisoner whose malady is known among convicts by the technical term "*fiddling on the doctor*," in which performance practice had made him, as he boasted, a proficient.

But there is no punishment, or mode of procedure, that director can inflict, or doctor practise, which will suit all cases alike. There are a few whom even corporal punishment will not restrain, and many more on whom solitude and bread and water will be thrown away. But seeing that the prisoner's meals constitute his chief diversion, much may certainly be done by the skilful manipulation of food.

In county and borough gaols dietaries may be made to play a very important part, and in two ways. If the dietary of a prison is much better than that of a union workhouse, violent women, to whom it is matter of indifference whether they throw themselves on the public as

criminals or paupers, will elect to qualify for the prison by smashing a valuable plate of glass. The discipline in the two cases is so nearly alike (and this is a good objection to a Poor Law), that a little difference in the diet will turn the scale. Now this provoking state of things would be put a stop to if the county magnates could be brought to adopt the progressive diet which, as chairman of one of the Dietary Committees not long since appointed by the Home Office. I had the satisfaction of recommending. We had heard from many parts of the country that in consequence of a scanty diet being in force for those sentenced to short periods of imprisonment, while those sentenced to longer terms entered at once on the enjoyment of better food —food being what all prisoners care most about—magistrates were wont to inflict short sentences on those who deserved longer ones. For this serious abuse we recommended a remedy in the shape of a dietary to which all prisoners without exception were to conform: it rose by successive stages from bread and water to the diet deemed necessary for prisoners undergoing the longer sentences. We were informed that some score or more of prisons had adopted this reformed dietary, and we had the peculiar satisfaction of hearing from Bury St. Edmunds that the diet was perfect; for that it kept the prisoners in good health, and yet was so distasteful to them that, on leaving the prison, they loudly declared their determination never to trouble the gaoler of that prison any more. This, I may add, was one of three dietaries, of which two, framed for the use of convict prisons, have saved the State about 30,000*l.* a year, and nevertheless justified themselves by results.

II. INDUSTRIAL ECONOMICS.

DOMESTIC ECONOMY OF THE LABOURING CLASSES.

I shall make no apology for devoting so much space to one subject; first, because of its great interest and importance; and secondly, because I wish to give at one view, and in the most compact form, the following recently written observations, practically illustrated by a document, which was the result of a very careful investigation.

The greatest evils, perhaps, under which the lower classes labour, arise from ignorance of domestic economy. It is certainly below the mark to say that, on an average, labourers' families might live much better than they now do for one-third less expense. Waste and un-

comfort are but too often the chief characteristics of their management—the bitter consequences of which are strife, sickness, debt, misery, recklessness, and crime. Their purchases are often bad in quality, small in quantity, and high in price; their meals wasteful and unwholesome; their clothes neglected, and everything about them destitute of arrangement.

There are many causes which conspire to keep up this state of things.

First, the want of efficient local government, having for its basis moral influence. The majority of mankind are, as it were, out of the pale of systematic discipline, and it is marvellous that their neglected state is not productive of worse consequences to themselves and the rest of the world.

Secondly, the means which are adopted to remedy the evils of neglect only tend in principle to aggravate and perpetuate them; and the endless institutions, miscalled charitable, with which the land is covered, by furnishing so many substitutes for prudence, diminish the necessity for prudence itself, and, in defiance of morals and religion, reduce human beings below the standard of their nature.

Thirdly, it has ever been the policy of government to sacrifice the people to considerations of revenue, to raising soldiers and sailors, and to the preservation of their own influence against their opponents—sometimes with a specious show, in the latter particular, of pursuing an opposite course.

Fourthly, what has been the policy of government is in reality the policy of every party, because party can only exist by popular debasement, brought about and fostered by flattery and falsehood, just as a purpose is to be accomplished.

Fifthly, there is a notion very prevalent amongst the upper classes, that in order to be able to command the quantity of labour they require, it is necessary to keep the labouring classes in a state of dependence, or bordering upon it; and, though this unchristian feeling is no doubt frequently disguised to those who entertain it, yet their actions constantly correspond with its influence, even when they appear to be dictated by disinterested kindness.

It is a very narrow and short-sighted view to suppose that independence, resulting from prudence, could produce any other than the most beneficial consequences, though it is perhaps impossible to calculate beforehand the full extent of those consequences on the general state of society. We see that the number of workmen requisite to perform the same quantity of work, that the bad quality of the work, and the trouble and drawbacks to the employers, are in proportion to the degradation of the labourers, and we know that the most prudent

are the steadiest in their occupation, and the most to be depended upon. The desire of accumulation and the hope of advancement are the most permanent incitements to labour. In considering this question, it is necessary not to confound that independence which arises from accidental causes with the independence which is the result of prudence. The first is generally attended with pernicious consequences; the second scarcely ever. Lastly, the unthrifty, uncomfortable condition of the labouring classes depends greatly upon the mode of their education, so far as they have any. Good training is alone good education, and it is not enough to teach only those things which are good or bad as they are used. A woman does not necessarily make a better helpmate to a labouring man because she can read and write, but it is otherwise if she has been taught the domestic arts of life suitable to her condition. Both are desirable, but the latter are indispensable to happiness, and they are lamentably neglected. It is upon this part of the subject only that I propose to make any further observations.

There is no class of persons to whom domestic comfort is of so much importance as to those who have to earn their livelihood by hard labour, and there is no greater contrast than that between a well-ordered and a cheerless home. In the one case, when the husband returns from his work, he finds a kindly woman, a cheerful fire, quiet children, as good a meal as his means will allow, ready prepared, every want anticipated, every habit attended to, an universal neatness, and everything in its place. In the other case it is the reverse of all this, and, in addition, perhaps the wife absent, or intoxicated, and some article taken to the pawnbroker's to furnish the means of indulgence; angry words ensue, and then blows. The husband flies to the public-house, where a welcome awaits him. His wife breaks in upon him, and at last, for peace, is invited to partake of his enjoyments, which, on such occasions, ever end in excess, and crime or the parish is the resource.

Women, brought up in ignorance of comfort, of course are careless about the means of providing for it. They are heedless how they marry, and, when married, never think of the duties of their situation. I recollect a young woman, the wife of a labourer in the country, once applying to me, respecting some alleged harsh treatment on the part of a shopkeeper to whom she owed money. On investigating the case, I found that she regularly spent three shillings a-week in sweet things, and that she held herself entitled to pass the first year after her marriage in complete idleness; a privilege, I discovered, by no means seldom claimed. Of course the habits of the first year would become, in a great measure, the habits of after life, and the indulgence in sweet things would most likely be transferred in time to things less harmless

A greater degree of self-dependence is especially to be desired amongst the labouring classes, which can only be produced by a greater degree of prudence; and there is nothing so likely to induce prudence as the cultivation of domestic economy; indeed, it is an essential part of domestic economy, because without foresight there can be little or no comfort. The very facilities the lower orders possess of living from hand to mouth frequently tend to their ruin, by preventing the necessity of providing beforehand; and there is, perhaps, nothing which is more injurious to their interests than being able to make their marketings on Sunday mornings—a privilege loudly claimed for them by pretended friends, who are ever the advocates of whatever supposes the lowest standard.

They must have a strange idea of what an English labourer ought to be, who think him incapable of sufficient prudence to have one week's wages in store, and by so lowly rating him, they make or keep him where he is. Sunday markets are productive of evils in many ways; and if they were prohibited, the labouring classes would be materially benefited.

Considering how powerful by nature is female influence, there can be no one mode so sure of increasing the stock of human happiness and human virtue as a quiet perseverance on the part of women in studying to promote the comforts of home. There is on the part of the upper classes a general desire to attend to the interests of those below them, though the means pursued are frequently the reverse of judicious. I believe there is no way in which the labouring classes can be so effectually served as by instructing them in the arts of domestic economy, because a well-ordered home is the best security for good order in everything else.

To those who take an interest in schools, and generally in the training of children and young people, I would suggest the idea of introducing a sort of exercise in domestic economy, and of affording every facility and encouragement for its practice.

I will conclude my observations with enumerating a few particulars which appear to me most worthy of attention, and others will no doubt occur to those who turn their minds to the subject.

In my intercourse with the labouring classes, what I have observed they seem most to want to learn is, to market and make purchases on the most advantageous terms; to apply the arts of cookery to preparing food in an economical, wholesome, and palatable manner; in the country, to brew and bake; to light a fire expeditiously and economically; to keep up a fire economically; to make a fire cheerful expeditiously; to set out a table quickly and neatly; to clear away expeditiously; to cut out, make, and mend linen, and to keep other clothes

in good order; to wash and get up linen; to dry, and clean shoes; to sweep and clean rooms quietly and expeditiously, and to keep them neat and comfortable; and lastly, to prepare proper food for children and the sick. The difference in the way of doing these things, as far as my observation could go, is immense; and the difference in point of comfort corresponding. The management of a fire is of great importance; and quietness and quickness are essential to comfort. Some women conduct their household concerns with a noise and confusion which are quite distracting.

The following statement, which was drawn up for the Duke of Somerset, I give by way of specimen of investigation, and to put those, who wish to turn their attention to such subjects, into what I conceive to be the right course. Though it applies to a particular district, much of the matter is of general application, and the doctrines I have laid down, if they are good anywhere, are good everywhere:—

"The following account of the labouring classes in the parish of Berry Pomeroy (in Devonshire), is the result of information collected between November, 1822 and May, 1823; but there is so much difficulty in ascertaining the whole truth in such matters that I do not pledge myself to accuracy in every particular. Few are able to represent things as they are—many wilfully pervert, and most speak from some bias; added to which, being a stranger in that part of the country, I was liable to fall into error from ignorance of local customs and expressions. However easy it may appear to discover the truth, it is only necessary to *persevere* in investigation to be convinced of the difficulty.

"The labouring classes in Berry parish are certainly better off than in many parts of the kingdom, but it is in a slavish way. The children, till ten or eleven years of age, are carelessly brought up, generally, with parochial assistance, with an imperfect knowledge of reading, and a part of them with a still more imperfect knowledge of writing. They are then bound apprentices by the parish till they are twenty-one, at which period, with a moderate stock of clothes, and a few shillings in their pockets, with a mere knowledge of drudgery, and great unskilfulness in domestic economy, without hope of bettering their condition, or thought of looking beyond the present moment, with the parish for their world, and the overseer for their guide, they become nominally free. The course then is to hire themselves as yearly servants for board, lodging, and washing, with from 5*l.* to 9*l.* in wages. They generally marry early, and then go into cottages or rooms, as they can get them, with at most a small garden, a pig, and a hen or two. They then become daily labourers, and earn from 7*s.* to 10*s.* a-week (including an allowance of cider), and their wives get about 8*d.* a-day

when there is out-door work; at other times generally doing nothing. Their highest idea of independence is to maintain themselves as long as they have only a small family, and are in health, and can get labour in the parish or parts adjoining; but they look no further.* Ignorance, and their reliance on the parish, bind the great majority of them to the soil as effectually as if they were Russian boors.

"There are a few who make voyages to Newfoundland, but are still frequently dependent on parochial relief, and the instances of those who get out into the world are so few as not to be worth mentioning.

"Artisans, lime-burners, and cider-makers, get higher wages than the agricultural labourers, but are more subject to want of employment, and are equally or more improvident. The only present instance in the parish of a man bringing up a family without aid, is of a lime-burner at Langcombe, named Richard Warren, who, however laudable his practice, maintains, from sympathy or fear, the same doctrine as the rest; and when age or infirmity overtakes him, he must come to the same state.

"From a conference I had with five of the most deserving or intelligent labourers of the parish I was more convinced than before, even from their own partial and very guarded statements† of their ability to provide for themselves; but I was at the same time forcibly struck with the discouragements they labour under; and it appeared to me that after having compelled them to do their best, the consequence would be sooner or later to make them quit their unpromising situation for the probability of turning their prudence to greater account in more favourable districts, leaving their places to be filled up by new comers, with their cast-off habits.

"It appears as impossible to retain a provident population in Bridgetown, as Bridgetown is, as to have a healthy one in a swamp—the

* I should except those who are in sick-clubs, but whose subscriptions the parish is frequently called upon to pay.

† The difficulty of getting at the truth from persons in this debasing state of dependence is almost inconceivable. They live a prey to suspicion, concealment, and apprehension, both on their own individual account and on account of the common cause. Hence the gross errors which well-meaning but superficial inquirers fall into respecting them. I once counted a row of eggs laid upon a shelf in a pauper-labourer's cottage, and then asked his wife how many hens she had, which, coupled with my having a note-book in my hand, so alarmed her, that she was seized with a violent illness. If she had been aware of my coming, the eggs would have been concealed. In a cottage in Lancashire, whilst the inmates were complaining that they had not tasted butcher's meat for a month, a terrier I had with me turned up a mug under which were the bones of a neck of mutton newly picked. A woman, just after telling me she could not get food, forgot herself, and cut a large slice of bread to quiet a squalling child. The child bit one piece, and then threw the remainder indignantly into the dirt.

place must be reformed as well as the people. It is certain, that of the labouring classes of all descriptions, whether strong or weak, skilful or unskilful, industrious or idle—whether with large or small families, married or unmarried, marrying late or early, daily labourers or artisans—whether possessing the most advantages or the fewest—whether working constantly for the richest, or occasionally for the poorest farmers, it is certain that not one has more than a few pounds beforehand. The system therefore is radically bad—a system of debasing equalization. The parish, on the one hand, holds out strong temptations to improvidence; and, on the other, there are no inducements, or none sufficiently powerful, to encourage a contrary course.

"There is a labourer at Berry who has a wife and only one child; he is subject to an infirmity which occasionally disables him from labour, during which time he has relief from the parish: His wife is one of the only two remaining women possessed of looms. She might by industry gain as much as would keep her husband during his illnesses; but she has not used her loom for two years, pleading the difficulty of getting work, and the ill health of her child, but in reality not choosing to 'save the parish,' as the phrase is—for that would be the only effect she perceives; and she would incur the blame of her compeers for an abandonment of their supposed rights. To compel her to work is possible, but it would be contending against public opinion, and perhaps inducing an intentional aggravation of the man's infirmity, in order to triumph over the parish, instances of which perverseness are by no means rare, nor are they to be wondered at, when it is considered that they are esteemed as a sort of self-devotion, or patriotic contest for the common rights.

"According to the present state of things, an individual of the lower class, who should be inclined to become provident, must suffer present privation for remote and uncertain advantages. All he could expect would be the accumulation of a little fund, from which whatever advantages he could derive, the sums he would otherwise have obtained from the parish would be reckoned as so much lost, and so he would be continually told. He would have no means of turning his capital to account as long as he remained in the parish, except perhaps by setting up a small shop, and all he could do would be to use his fund as his necessities obliged him, with the consciousness that it might fail at last, and leave him in no better state than the rest. 'What is the use of saving?—the parish must keep us,' is the common language; and unless it is made apparent, that they who save will have opportunities afforded them of providing *much* better for themselves than the parish will provide for them, it is almost in vain to think of creating a provident population.

"Saving implies present privation, and there must be future advantages held out, and those not very remote, to induce and preserve an alteration of habits. With attention and judgment a system might be introduced which would operate a completely beneficial change, making allowance for occasional instances of human frailty—that is, prudence might be made to become almost as general as improvidence is now. I shall confine myself, however, to only one suggestion (as being that alone which, under present circumstances, is likely to be in any degree carried into practice), and that relates to the residences of the labouring classes.

"On account of the scarcity of accommodations, cottage rents are oppressively high, especially in Bridgetown. A journeyman shoemaker there, who has had fourteen children, and has five at home, pays 3*l.* 10*s.* a year for one room and a miserable garret, with a small garden. He gains 2*s.* or 3*s.* a week by teaching a night-school; but during his wife's confinement in the spring, he was obliged to dismiss his scholars for want of room just when his expenses were the greatest, and the parish had to make up the difference.

"The crowded state of the population and the wretched state of the accommodations are highly unfavourable to health and morals, and some of the labourers have to go three miles to their work, which, in a hilly country, and rainy climate, is a serious drawback upon their time in task-work, a profitless wear of the constitution, and a frequent cause of disease and infirmity. After a sorry breakfast of weak suet broth, a labourer *of the poorer order* sometimes walks three miles to his work, with little more than a piece of barley bread for his dinner, eaten in the fields in wet clothes, and returns at night to a filthy crowded chamber to his supper, which is his principal meal.

"The distance from employment, too, is a frequent cause of not obtaining it at all; and I believe if the artizans also were a little scattered, it would be better both for themselves and for those who have occasion to employ them.

"But I consider the circumstance of there being so few gradations as to residence, as one of the greatest evils. A separate cottage in bad condition, with a small garden, generally too small to be of much advantage, and therefore neglected, forms, with I think one or two exceptions, the highest class of labourers' tenements. The consequence is, the great stimulus to exertion, the hope of advancement, has scarcely any operation. If there were gradations, from a couple of rooms to comfortable family cottages, with land sufficient for a garden, a small orchard, and to keep a cow or two, there would be an obvious inducement continually held out to thrift and good character, in hopes of obtaining the higher prizes. Individuals would begin to

strive for themselves, *and would cease, as at present, to make common cause against the parish.** The success of one would excite the emulation of others; and the general character would be raised. The children of those in the higher rank of labourers would often be deterred from too early marriages by the dread of descending from their station, and the children of the lowest class would sometimes, from feelings of prudence or ambition, wait till they had the means or opportunity of advancement. The impulse of character would be felt, and the present practice of heedless marriages would cease to be so prevalent.†

"The advantages of gardens to cottages, I believe, are universally allowed: the smallest size, as some of the labourers informed me, should be one-eighth of an acre. I am aware that an objection would be alleged to their having orchards, as affording them a cover for stealing and selling the farmer's apples; but as only those would possess them who had advanced themselves, or whose fathers had done so before them, I do not think the objection valid against the moral effect of making a higher gradation. Indeed, robbing orchards would probably be held in greater disrepute than it is, when some of the class, who are now the offenders, might themselves suffer from the practice.

"I have heard it objected, that labourers keeping cows diminishes the farmers' profits; but experience in many parts of the country where it is the custom, so fully proves its advantages, that I hold it unnecessary to say much upon the subject. A plentiful supply of milk, *and domestic employment for females*, much more than counterbalance any inconvenience, if there be any, which I much doubt, from a labourer's cow. With a proper-sized garden, a cow, a pig, and a few hens, a cottager's wife never need be at a loss for work, and the difference between a female so occupied and the gossiping women of Bridgetown and Berry, would soon become apparent.

* Being on one low level, the labouring classes here have all one common corresponding feeling. Though apparently quiet and orderly, I found them in reality more violent and unreasonable, particularly the women, and less intelligent, than I have experienced in the manufacturing districts.

† Passion, affection, the hope of offspring or of domestic comfort, have comparatively little operation in producing marriages in this degraded class. Mere custom is one great cause. If the men could obtain employment as easily whilst single as when married, and could meet with accommodation undisturbed by the matrimonial uncomforts of others, and the women had a more marked choice between provident and improvident husbands, a great alteration for the better would take place. Houses kept by respectable middle-aged people without any young children, where single men could have accommodation according to their inclination or means, would considerably conduce to prevent premature marriages, and would be otherwise advantageous in many ways.

"The men, too, under such circumstances can, in a great degree, find employment at home in wet weather, or at the seasons of the year when the least labour is wanted, which prevents them from being a burden to the farms or the parish, or living upon their savings, or wasting them at the alehouse.

"I have mentioned the highest class of cottages having land enough for two cows, and this I think might be desirable for three reasons:—1st. Because it is making a higher gradation, which is giving a greater stimulus, and raising the moral character. 2ndly. Because it would increase the facility of obtaining milk to those who have no cow, or who are temporarily in want of a supply; for where the labourers are wholly dependent for milk upon the farmers, they are seldom regularly or sufficiently accommodated. And 3rdly. Because I think it highly desirable to have a reserve of labour for those periods of the year when there is the greatest demand for it in a class of persons, who, for a trifling advance, as in harvest, or when they are particularly wanted, are willing to work for others, and at other times can depend upon themselves. In the present state of things, where there is only one class of mere labourers, living from hand to mouth, there must either be at some seasons too few, or at others too many, and consequently the farmers must either suffer inconvenience from a scarcity of hands, or else from a degraded set of supernumeraries, frequently living partly upon the parish, and partly by depredations.*

"With respect to the method of bringing about the change, in case your Grace should be inclined to make the attempt, either wholly or in part, I think the principal thing is to let your intentions be generally known, and the farmers who desire to have cottages built upon their farms may signify the same to your steward. In such cases the cottages should go with the farms. The labour of men resident is worth more than that of those at a distance; and a few steady labourers, dispersed over a farm, are a great advantage in preventing trespasses and depredations, and in watching the cattle and sheep, besides the advantages to the labourer in living near his work, which are very considerable, especially in bad weather. There are, I believe, on the Berry estate many plots of land, at present, from their rough state or inferior quality, of little or no value to the farmers, which would, in

* Instead of keeping cows, the land might, in many cases, be applied to other purposes, according to circumstances. Where there has been a long connexion between farmer and labourer, and the latter afterwards becomes, by his prudence, occupant of a little land, still holding himself at the disposal of his former master during periods of extra demand for labour, and in his turn receiving assistance from the farmer's teams, &c., how profitable, both morally and pecuniarily, is such a relation, compared with that arising from the system of pauper supernumeraries!

the hands of industrious labourers, working for themselves at spare times, soon become fit for cultivation.

"Cottages, not built for the convenience of particular farms, should be held immediately from your Grace, and, if let to proper persons, the trouble of collecting the rents would be very trifling. I think it would be well to encourage applications from the labourers themselves for cottages, or gardens, or lands, as a stimulus to exertion and good conduct; but particular care should be taken to examine into the merits of each case.*

"If a man applied to have his garden enlarged, I would first see that he made the most of what he had already. If he asked for land for a cow, I would not only make him show that he had money to buy one, but I would ascertain that the cow would be well managed. If he asked for a cottage, I would ascertain that a labourer was wanted, and give him accommodations according to his means *already provided.* A few applications properly scrutinized, and graciously complied with, I have no doubt would produce a very good effect, and could not be accompanied by any of those inconveniences which frequently attend inconsiderate alterations.

"Many well-meaning people attempt to remove evils of long-standing, and arising from complicated causes, by hasty and general processes. The consequence is, they utterly fail in their endeavours, or perhaps even aggravate the mischief, and then give up in despair or disgust. Whereas, in such cases, investigation, discretion, and time, are indispensable. Poverty produced by improvidence is not removed, but confirmed by pecuniary bounty; and improvidence itself, as it proceeds from various causes, frequently demands as various remedies for its cure.

"From the method I would point out, no disadvantages could well arise; for I would do nothing for those who did not give earnest of their merit by first doing something for themselves. I would assist the deserving in their endeavours, but the usual objects of attention I would leave to the consequences of their own misconduct. It is too much the fashion to bestow everything on those who deserve nothing, and to let the meritorious struggle on, not only unaided, but frequently under the disadvantage of having the undeserving preferred before them.† Perhaps in the outset a little pecuniary encouragement to one

* Much might be done at a small expense, in improving and altering the present cottages.

† I would reverse this process, and, if I may so say, would macadamize the roads to self-advancement, at the same time making the ways of improvidence as difficult and cheerless as possible. I have learnt to look with a *very* suspicious eye at what are called the *unfortunate*, especially when they have plausible tongues.

or two of the most provident labourers, of two or three pounds each, to assist them in buying a cow, or for some such purpose, might set the plan forward with advantage; but I am against giving, except in very particular cases, and in aid of exertion, and not to save it. Whatever improvement takes place, I think it ought to make an adequate return in rent.

"I am far from holding out that the adoption of the foregoing suggestions would work miracles, but I think it would produce an improvement in the condition of the labouring classes on your Grace's estate, and, with judicious management, a very considerable one; and at the same time would be the means of increasing the value of the farms, and of the property generally."

ADDRESS TO LABOURERS.

The following address to a number of pauperised labourers (taken from the Appendix to my pamphlet on Pauperism) was written with a view to particular application, but owing to circumstances was never made use of. It was intended for the commencement of an improvement of system. I insert it here principally for the purpose of inculcating what I conceive to be right notions into the minds of those who, with the best intentions, are apt to mislead the labouring classes, and to uphold them in courses most detrimental to their welfare.

I wish to talk to you a little about your condition, which I would willingly help you to mend.

You ought to be better fed, better clothed, and better lodged. Every labourer in the land should be able to earn sufficient wages to procure himself a constant supply of comfortable clothing and nourishing food; he ought to have the means of bringing up his children decently, and of teaching them what is suitable to their condition; he should be able to provide against the common accidents and sicknesses of life, and also to lay by a sufficient store to maintain his old age in comfort. All this he should be able to do by his own industry.

There are many things to be considered, and many things to be done, in order to bring about this change. Let us begin with considering parish relief, what it is, and what effect it produces. There is nothing which concerns you more. I dare say you think parish relief is something in addition to wages. You are mistaken—it is chiefly a part of wages, but given in a manner most hurtful to those who receive and those who pay. I will try to make this matter plain to you.

Let us suppose there to be two parishes, each containing twenty

farms and one hundred labourers, and suppose the labour of each man to cost the farmer 2*s.* a day; but that in one parish the labourer only receives 1*s.* 6*d.*, the 6*d.* being kept back and put into a fund, to be paid to him upon certain conditions. Suppose, also, that in the other parish at the end of each week each man receives for each day he has worked his full wages of 2*s.*, and suppose that he has nothing farther to look to. You understand, as he does his work, he receives the whole of his wages of 2*s.* a day; and upon his wages alone he is to depend in sickness and in health, whether he has work or whether he has none, and for the maintenance of his family, whether large or small, and in his old age he is to have nothing to look to but the savings of his youth. Let us see how it is likely he will conduct himself.

As he has good wages he will be able to live well and to work hard;* now, as there is nothing so good for health as hard work with good living, he will seldom lose any time from sickness, or be at any expense for the doctor. As he will have no pay if he cannot get work, he will take care to keep a good character and satisfy his employer. As he will have no allowance for a large family, he will not marry till a reasonable time, and will most likely look out for a wife like himself, who can work hard and manage well. As he knows the comforts of his old age must depend entirely upon the prudence of his early years, he will constantly be laying by part of his wages; and as a steady man generally keeps his strength long, he will be able to save enough to spend his latter days in ease and independence. In such a parish is not this the way that people would generally go on?

Now let us turn to the other parish, where the labourer receives for his wages only 1*s.* 6*d.* a day of his 2*s.*, and where the 6*d.* is put into a fund, and suppose the conditions upon which he is to receive anything from the fund to be, 1st, He must not have saved anything for himself, or if he has, he must have spent it all before he can have any claim; 2ndly, He must be unable to get work; or he must be unable to perform it from sickness, accident, or old age; or thirdly, He must have a larger family than he can possibly keep upon his slender wages. How will a man live then? He will begin by saying, what is the use of my saving?—besides, how can I save out of 1*s.* 6*d.* a-day? So if he gets more by any chance he will spend it all, because he has given up all thoughts of saving. As he knows that if he cannot get work the fund must keep him, he will not so much mind getting a constant place, or giving satisfaction in any place. As whilst he is young he does not see much cause why he should be steady, having the fund to

* This was written in a country where living is very cheap and wages low.

look to he will take care of himself; and as he knows that he can manage to keep a small family somehow or other, and that if he has a large one he shall have help, he will marry without thought, and perhaps repent as soon as he is married. Then he must work hard and live poorly; sickness comes upon himself and his family; he applies to the fund and gets his pittance. Having once begun he is ever after contriving how to keep on, by throwing himself out of work, pretending to be ill, or wasting his means. His claims are disputed; he goes backward and forward, loses his time, drinks for vexation, and is a ruined man to the end of his life. His example ruins his children, who follow the same course of improvidence, marry without thought, and spend their whole lives in misery.

This course makes people increase faster than they are wanted; less money is paid in wages, and more into the fund, and things grow worse and worse. The few who are inclined to be industrious and saving are discouraged, and at last find it impossible. Their wages are taken from them and given to the worthless, and they see they have no chance of getting any part back but by doing as others do.

And is not parish relief just this? Not money, as you supposed, all taken out of the pockets of the rich to be given to the poor, but, in a great measure, a tax upon the wages of the labouring classes themselves, of which the most undeserving get the most, and the very meritorious get nothing at all, and of which a great deal is spent in law, or wasted in mismanagement.

I am sure that in many parishes the occupiers of the land could better afford to give one-third more wages to good workmen than to pay their poor's-rates; and that here 12*s*. a-week for daily labour to steady labourers would be cheaper to the farmers than 9*s*. in the present state of things.

Now, I will put it to you—Would it be better to start in life with 12*s*. a week, and manage your own concerns, or have 3*s*. a-week kept back to be given to you only if you fall into want, and if you have any luck in life, never to be given to you at all? A hale man, who takes care of himself, may well earn full wages for forty years of his time. Now, 3*s*. a week for forty years amounts to 312*l*., which large sum the poor laws take from the man who honestly earns it and give to the overseer—to distribute to whom? To the idle and improvident, to destitute children, or to those who are sick, or infirm, or old, or who are unable to get work, or who have large families.

But you will say, are destitute children, are the sick, the infirm, the old, or those who cannot get work, or who have more children than they can keep—are all these to be left without assistance? Certainly not; there they are, and as long as they are there, must be

assisted: but I tell you it is the poor laws, it is having a parish to look to, that makes destitute children, by making improvident parents. It is the same cause that makes the greatest part of sickness and infirmity in a class of men who, of all others, might be most easily strong and healthy—I mean farming labourers. It is the want of steadiness on the one hand, and the want of means on the other, both produced by the poor laws; it is to these causes that we may trace almost all the sickness and infirmity which unfortunately are so common amongst you. It is to the poor laws that we may attribute so many labourers without work, and such large families without sufficient provision. Improvident marriages are the cause of both these evils, and the poor laws are decidedly the chief cause of improvident marriages.

In other countries there are other causes which produce these bad effects; but in England, which possesses so many advantages, it is to the poor laws almost alone that we may attribute the evils of pauperism.

I do not mean to say, that with the best plan and the best management, there would not be particular cases of distress; now and then a destitute child—an individual reduced to poverty by long sickness or unexpected infirmity—an extreme old age, not sufficiently provided for—a partial scarcity of work, or a family larger than common prudence could maintain. Such accidents must happen more or less frequently; but where the generality were well provided for, what would a few instances the other way signify? Is there not private charity enough?—Would not you yourselves, if you were well off, be willing to contribute to the assistance of the few unfortunate persons about you?—I am sure you would: *I am sure there would be no need of laws to provide for distress, if there were no laws to produce it.* Now do not forget that the poor's-rates are a tax upon your wages, of which the most hard-working and prudent pay the most and receive the least; and the most idle and spendthrift pay the least and receive the most.

If any of you still think that the poor's-rates are not principally raised out of your wages I will explain it to you in another way. Suppose two farmers to hire five labourers each—and suppose one of the farmers to say to his labourers, "I shall only pay you wages when you work, and you must take care of your money, and provide for yourselves." And suppose the other farmer to say, "I will allow you pay when I have no work for you, or when you are sick, or old, or if you have large families." Would not he pay lower wages than the farmer who only paid according to the work done?—Just so it is in parishes; the farmers are obliged by law to pay those who cannot

work; and so they are obliged to give less wages to those who can. I do not mean to say that all the money which is paid in poor's-rates would be paid in wages, if there were no poor's-rates; but a great part of it would; perhaps all that is now paid to the poor; and the rest, such as the expenses of the overseers and law expenses, would remain in the pockets of the farmers and the landlords; besides which, steady labourers, well paid, would do more work, and do it better, and be altogether better servants.

If for the last seventy years what has been paid in poor's-rates in this parish had been paid in wages, and the labourers had been as careful as they ought to have been, the old would now be living comfortably on their own savings, instead of being dependent on the parish; those who have larger families than they can keep would have most likely waited a little before they had married, and there would be less sickness, and less infirmity. The best part of 1000*l.* a-year which is paid in poor's-rates would be paid in wages; the farmer would be better served, and the labourer better off; but remember, that to bring about this change depends upon yourselves. High wages would bring ruin upon the farmers, unless the labourers were prudent; they cannot now pay you when you work, as if they were not obliged to keep you when you cannot work; but it would be better for them and better for you, if there were no such laws as the poor laws, and the sooner they can be done without the better for all parties.

HAND-LOOM WEAVERS.

I give the following extract from the Report of the Committee of the House of Commons on the state of Hand-loom Weaving, by way of illustration of many of the observations I have had occasion to make, and for the purpose of instilling into the minds of my readers what I conceive to be right conclusions on a subject of deep importance—that is, the well-being of the labouring classes.

"Your Committee cannot help observing that they found in this evidence the proof of the necessity for actual personal observation and inspection, in order to come at the truth of the condition of the working classes; for that, Mr. Makin, although living in the midst of these people, and himself engaged in the trade, expresses himself as one who had been incredulous as to the state of the hand-loom weavers, until he had looked narrowly into their affairs, and as one who was startled at what he found to be the fact. Your Committee dwell upon this, because it shows beyond a question that the data on which assertions of prosperity are commonly founded are erroneous, and that actual survey and inspection are necessary in establishing the truth. Further,

your Committee found, that as to clothing, the hand-loom weavers of Bolton are at the lowest ebb; in detailing which, Mr. Makin says, 'I cannot recollect any instance but one where any weaver of mine has bought a new jacket for many years, and I am only sorry I did not bring one or two jackets to let the Committee see the average state in which they are clothed; that as to bedding they have scarcely any, and of other furniture less; that they are generally without chairs, having nothing but two or three stools to sit on, and that sometimes they have nothing but a stool, or chair, or a tea-chest; that their rents are generally in arrear, and that they are obliged to borrow of their masters to pay them; that to such courses has this destitution driven them, that they are much in the habit of embezzling the materials given out to them to weave, so much so, indeed, that the dealing in embezzled warp and weft has become a trade exceeding all calculation, there being houses for receiving and paying for the goods so embezzled, and that there are manufacturers of considerable means who deal with these receiving houses, and who manufacture and sell the goods so bought to an extent which influences the market, causing a reduction, first, in the market price of goods, and next in the weavers' wages.'

"Your Committee, shocked at hearing this detail of dishonest practices, involving the character of a large part of a large community, were still more shocked at the thought that the characters of others, beyond the temptations of want, were also involved. As a corollary to this, your Committee found that the due and usual attendance at divine worship is generally neglected; that this arose from shame, in the first instance, at appearing at church in rags; that the writings of Carlile and Taylor have obtained a greater spread; and that the witness had seen companies of men applauding those who have argued against the existence of a God. But your Committee cannot in justice close their observations on these statements without the accompanying remark, that the witness attributes this awful state of things to no innate vices and infidelity of the people themselves, but solely to that recklessness which originates in want and despair."

With respect to the first remark in the extract as to "the necessity for actual personal observation and inspection, in order to come at the truth of the condition of the working classes," and the circumstance of a person living in the midst of a population, and himself engaged in their trade, being completely ignorant of their state, I have said in the article on 'Poor Laws in Ireland' (see pp. 228–233), "the generality of the world has very little idea of the state of the lowest parts of it, even in its immediate vicinity, as I had proof in the ignorance of the respectable inhabitants of Whitechapel of what was existing around them; and this is one of the strongest arguments in my mind in favour

of organized and vigilant parish government, because such evils as I have described have only to be brought frequently before men's eyes to be made to disappear." I will now add, that there is no other way of making them disappear.

I dissent from the conclusion the Committee and Mr. Makin seem to come to, that the actual state of the people described is a state unavoidable on their parts. I believe it to be the consequence of want of prudence and want of energy; besides that, no doubt, it was made to appear by the people themselves much worse than it really was. When an end is to be gained by appearing poor it is very easy to do so. The pride of appearing decent soon gives way to policy, and it by no means follows that because jackets had ceased to be purchased, it was from universal inability. If weavers with families could not afford new jackets those without could; but then it would be unpopular to wear them.

The same reasoning applies to the want of furniture: when it is expedient to lower the standard of comfort, articles of comfort are sacrificed whether there is necessity or not. In the article on "Poor Laws in Ireland," I have given a parallel description of Mr. Makin's of an absence of furniture, not from poverty but from policy. Wherever an excuse can be found for not paying rents, rents will not be paid, especially where landlords join in upholding their tenants in asking for aid and protection; it is a species of collusion to help one another at the expense of others.

This course was pursued over and over again by the Spitalfields weavers and their abettors, till the truth having been found out we hear no more complaints, though many of the causes formerly alleged no doubt still exist, and rivalry much more than ever. I am in possession of a few curious facts respecting the Spitalfields supposed distresses.

As to the assumption that destitution from low wages has driven the weavers to a habit of embezzling the materials given out to them to weave, I have to remark that in the year 1817, when I commenced my inquiries into the habits of the weavers in one of the townships of the parish of Manchester, I learned that embezzlement had there been a habit long before the invention of power-looms, or the consequent fall of wages, and that sometimes it had increased to such a pitch as to make the masters resolve not to give out any materials at all in the place, whereby every loom was at a stand. By degrees employment was again given, and by degrees the same abuse recurred.

During the want of work the poor's rates were the never-failing resource, and in this, as in many other instances, furnished a constant encouragement to moral debasement; though the truth might never

come to the ears of those who lived in the midst of these malpractices.

Embezzlement of silk by the Spitalfields weavers was long since made the subject of an Act of Parliament, and is punishable summarily with great severity. The Committee speak of the practice as if it were new, and they and Mr. Makin attribute it without hesitation to poverty, consequent upon the present state of hand-loom weaving.

Here I beg my reader's attention to this fact, that during six years and a half that I have sat, I may say without intermission, as a magistrate, I have watched very narrowly, and I have not discovered one single case of crime committed from poverty, in the sense the word is commonly used. It is the excuse constantly alleged and often received, and according to mere appearance, reasonably received; but I have no hesitation in saying that poverty, properly so called, does not produce crime, but that it is produced by a love of indulgence without sufficient industry to command the means of honestly gratifying it.

It is true in hard times there is often an increase of crime, because more industry is required; but still it is to gratify indulgence, and not to supply necessity.

Even where the necessaries of life, such as bacon, cheese, potatoes, &c., are purloined by apparently poor women, who frequent provision-shops at the times when business is at the height, the thefts are all committed, as far as my experience goes, by a regular class of performers, who calculate upon not being detected, or, if detected, upon being let off.

Sometimes petty thefts are committed in order to purchase gin, sometimes to supply those articles which should have been purchased with the money spent in gin; but indulgence is ever the moving cause. I mention these particulars, because the quantity of misplaced compassion shown for petty delinquencies is the greatest encouragement to their commission.

I confess I could not help being surprised at the Committee's simplicity in being so much shocked at hearing that manufacturers of considerable means were found to purchase embezzled materials, and that they should look upon it as a new practice, at least to its present extent. I am afraid it is far from new, and that some large fortunes, both in the silk and cotton trade, have been accumulated by that and other practices not less dishonourable.

I cannot think that the neglect of divine worship is a corollary to the state of the weavers described by Mr. Makin; for I believe it has always been too much the case with that class; at least, wherever I have seen them it has been so, and I should rather say, their condition is a corollary to their neglect of divine worship. That blasphemous

writings and speeches should, in their neglected state, meet with some attention, is not to be wondered at; because, as the mind cannot lie altogether sterile, if pains are not taken to sow good seed, weeds will take root; and it was this consideration that induced me to address the letter to the Bishop of London on the observance of the Sabbath, which forms the first article of the 5th Section of this work. I am convinced that without some such plan the spiritual wants of the many will never be supplied, and that till they are, it is in vain to expect their temporal good discipline. With Mr. Makin, I attribute the state he describes to no innate vices and infidelity of the people; but I cannot agree with him, that it is solely owing to a recklessness originating in want and despair, because I see it exist in the same degree where there is neither want nor despair.

My opinion I have stated in the article on Government at page 143 in the following words: "In my observation of even the worst part of mankind, I see so great an aptitude for the right path, and so little aberration, considering the quantity of neglect, that I feel confident an adequate enforcement of the real English principles of government, combined with our advanced state of civilization, would produce moral results as unthought of and as incalculable as have been the physical results from the application of steam."

In the year 1817, I endeavoured to dissuade the weavers in my then neighbourhood from bringing up their children to their own calling, being convinced that power-looms would eventually supersede hand-looms; and though I have no doubt but that there are great exaggerations of the difficulties which the present race have to contend with, yet it must be supposed they are in a state far from desirable. But what effect could any bolstering up the trade have, unless to keep those employed in it in a lingering state, necessarily growing worse and worse? False hopes only weaken that elasticity of human nature which can extricate men from far greater difficulties than any produced by the gradual changes arising from improvements in machinery; and if the weavers who are now suffering, were only convinced that nothing can be done for them in the way they ask, they would soon exhibit a very different tone from that which they will think it their policy, as long as ignorance of sound principles, motives of self-interest, or a love of popularity can find them supporters. Their real friends must pursue a very different course if they intend to serve them.

SAILORS.

There is no class of men who meet with such ill-treatment from their fellow-creatures as sailors. After suffering the hardships of the sea, and toiling with unconquerable labour, they are beset on their

return from each voyage by the most villainous and the most profligate of the species, for the purpose of robbing them of their hard-earned wages; whilst those who should step forward to protect them, leave them to their fate, or even hold that they are capable of nothing better.

When a vessel arrives from a long voyage, the crimps, or keepers of sailors' lodging-houses, are on the alert to get as many of the crew into their power as possible. Boats are sent to fetch the men ashore, and the watermen receive a fee from each crimp for every sailor they can bring. The sailors leave the vessel, often I believe made half drunk, without money, and with nothing but their chest, upon which the crimps advance them money till they receive their wages. Every temptation is put in their way to lead them to extravagance and recklessness. An exorbitant bill is made out, the amount of which is deducted from their wages, and they are very soon robbed or defrauded of the balance. As soon as they land, they are sponged upon by a set of idle fellows, who hang about the docks, pretending to be unable to get employment, or to have been old shipmates; they are defrauded by low Jews under colour of selling them worthless articles cheap, and they are plundered and imposed upon by the most profligate women. It is in a great measure a confederation against them, from which they have no chance of escape. Each party plays more or less into the other's hands.

I have occasion to see frequent instances of these abominations, and in general they are so contrived, that there is no remedy or punishment. It frequently happens, that a sailor, who has sixty or seventy pounds to receive, will have at the end of a few days, an enormous bill made out against him by a crimp, for what he and his hangers-on are alleged to have consumed, and for money advanced to supply his extravagance in his freaks of intoxication. For his balance there is an eager contest among the harpies who surround him, which leads them sometimes to the most barefaced and scandalous practices.

I remember one instance of a sailor having his wages taken from him by force in open day, in the High Street, Whitechapel, whilst in a hackney-coach with a man and woman, who had accompanied him to the India House. They robbed him under such dangerous circumstances to themselves, from fear that some one else would anticipate them.

In the lowest of the sailors' public-houses, there are, at the back, what are called long-rooms, the walls of which are painted with ships or other devices, and here are to be witnessed at almost all hours, but principally at night, scenes of the greatest villainy and debasement.

Sailors who are entrapped into these long-rooms, or similar places, are kept in a constant state of reckless excitement, and they never think of returning to sea till they have got rid of all their wages;

indeed I believe they are not unfrequently glad when their means are gone, as the only chance they have of escaping from the fangs of those who surround them.

This forced disposition, as I consider it, I have often heard taken for granted to be the necessary disposition of sailors, and thus it is argued that the sooner they are deprived of their money, the better both for themselves and their employers. Now it seems to me, that if sailors had fair play, and the maritime part of seaport towns could be reformed, their natural character would rather be that of thought and carefulness, than of recklessness and extravagance. Hardship, and the scenes frequent on the ocean, are not the best calculated to produce levity; and the peculiar ease with which they might accumulate their wages, if it once became the custom amongst them, is much more likely to make them more saving than other men, rather than less so.

A habit of accumulation, when once acquired, is the most constant of all habits, and prompts the most forcibly to industry and exertion—so that a sailor, who should reasonably enjoy a portion of his wages and put by the remainder, would be more certain to return to his calling, and to exercise it steadily, than one of the present race.

I believe there are now a great many exceptions to what is considered to be the usual character of sailors, and that they are happily increasing from various causes; but unquestionably a great deal remains to be done, and it is quite melancholy to see how many instances there are of noble and generous fellows falling a prey to the most worthless, for want of a little protection.

It is a matter of great consequence also to the rest of society on its own account, because the harvest, which the present state of seafaring men affords to the vicious and the criminal, is one great cause of so many depredators, who prey at other times upon the various classes of the public.

During the last war, when so many sailors were wanted both for the navy and the merchant service, every art was used to entrap them, and every species of demoralization encouraged to keep them in a state of dependence. The object on the part of government was to get their services for less than they were willing to take for them, and though the pay was kept down, and the expense of manning the navy was not so great as it would have been if sailors had been fairly dealt with, yet the system in its consequences has cost the nation a great deal more than a just course would have done.

The same system is to a degree still pursued in manning merchant vessels, so far as keeping sailors in a state of dependence, though great improvements have taken place, and there is a much more enlightened policy on the part of many ship-owners.

Whenever the government or individuals contrive to purchase labour for less than its real value, the public has to make up the difference and something more. On this subject, which is a very important one, I will extract a few sentences from my pamphlet on pauperism.

"There is a certain price for everything, and any attempt to force it below produces a contrary effect, though it may cause a division of the payment. Individuals may contrive to lower wages, and may throw the difference, with the increased cost of labour, upon the public—the State may inadequately remunerate those it employs, and thereby keep down the amount of taxation; but the means of paying the taxation will be inevitably diminished in a greater proportion. . . . It is beyond a doubt that an armed force, raised by conscription or impressment, by ballot, or by the seductions of enlistment, costs a nation more than the necessary price, though it may cost the government less. The general rule for obtaining labour, of whatever kind, at the cheapest rate, seems to be, first to render the service as agreeable and respectable as its duties will permit, and then to offer in open market the lowest direct remuneration, which will induce the best qualified spontaneously to engage themselves, and willingly to continue. I believe if the subject were closely pursued, it would appear that by rendering the various offices of labour as little irksome as may be practicable, and by approximating by all possible means the direct wages of labour to the cost of labour, pauperism and crime might be very considerably reduced. . . . The hope of an immediate and adequate reward, and the certainty of the secure enjoyment of it, are indispensably necessary to obtain labour at the lowest price, and however high that price may be, still it is the lowest possible. By a law of nature the slave is the dearest of labourers, and the man whose *heart* is in his work the cheapest—nay, even the brute, who is going home in the hope of eating his corn in comfort, is able to accomplish more than by any urging that can be inflicted upon him. Heart, kept constant by prudence, constitutes the perfection of a labourer."

It is to be observed, that the immense quantity of crime and pauperism that springs directly and indirectly from the present want of moral cultivation amongst sailors, is to be paid for by the public in addition to their wages; and that if they were prudent, though their wages might be somewhat higher, those wages would constitute the whole cost of their labour, instead of, as now, being only one part. If any labourer by his improvidence becomes a pauper, or causes any of those who ought to be dependent upon him to become paupers, the expense of that pauperism is to be added to his

wages, to make up the whole cost of his labour; and, in the same manner, if he is guilty of crime, or tempts others to be guilty, the expense incident to that crime is likewise to be reckoned part of the cost of his labour, though it is not paid by his employers but by the public.

I believe there are now in the maritime districts of this metropolis a great many respectable lodging houses for seafaring men, and a great many prudent characters amongst them; but there is a vast number who are quite the reverse, and who are the cause of great public detriment. It is very desirable that there should be some systematic provision for the protection of sailors, so as to give them a fair chance of becoming prudent, by having facilities afforded them for escaping bad company, and for placing in safety such part of their wages as they would not wish to spend. It seems to me that it would answer extremely well as a speculation for respectable persons, acquainted with the habits of seamen, to establish comfortable places for their reception, and to manage their affairs for them from their arrival till their departure. There could be no risk with proper caution; and the sailors, the public, and, I doubt not, the shipping interest, would be great gainers by the consequent improvement in morals.

[The reader will find a paper on "Savings' Bank for Seamen," following the one headed "Savings' Banks."]

ECONOMY OF LABOUR.

One great superiority of the manufacturers of this country over the agriculturists is attributable to their attention to the economy of labour. In my earliest remembrance the farmers were too ignorant to think of it, afterwards they were too prosperous, and now they are too much bent on seeking relief from other sources than their own energies. What might be done in time by a combination of mechanical and chemical science, it is as impossible to calculate beforehand, as it would have been fifty years since to have foretold what would be the present state of spinning, weaving, bleaching, and transport. Human energy and human invention completely baffle calculation, as is proved, amongst many others, by this fact, that silk and cotton are sent from India here, and manufactured and sent back, so as to undersell the natives in their own markets, in spite of distance, and comparative difficulty of living from both natural and political causes.

I think, with such examples of the triumph of skill, industry, and enterprise, the actual state of our agriculture utterly disgraceful. I was led into these remarks by a passage in one of my letters from the Continent, from which I have given the series of extracts beginning at page 108. The passage is as follows:—"I observed in Lorraine

two ploughs in a field of light land, drawn one by five horses, and the other by four, both held by women, and driven by men." This only proves that economy of labour is less practised in some parts of France than it is here; and such I believe to be generally the case on the Continent compared with this country, not only in agriculture, but in everything else. I have frequently seen in France four men shoeing a horse, having first put him in the stocks, and tying each foot in turn over a bar. The reason, probably, why the women were holding the ploughs I saw, might be that they were more skilful than the men, as, during the war, the females were more regularly employed in such labour.

I will conclude with a remarkable instance of the triumph of ingenuity over calculation. The Abbé Raynal lays it down, without supposing a doubt, that North America could never become of much importance beyond a short distance from the coast, on account of the impossibility of ascending the great rivers. The application of steam to navigation has alone falsified that position, and railways and canals are adding their powerful aid. I cannot help thinking that those who affirm, that if a north-west passage were to be discovered, it would never be made available to any useful purpose, are a little presumptuous. The progress of improvement already witnessed should teach us diffidence in hazarding such predictions.

The first experiment I ever saw of applying steam to navigation was on the Duke of Bridgewater's canal, when eleven coal-barges were dragged along by an engine at the rate of two miles an hour, and with terrible destruction to the banks. This, I think, was before steam navigation was brought to anything like perfection in the United States, and I little thought then of being carried some fifteen miles an hour against the wind, as I was the other day on the Thames.

CHANGE IN COMMERCE.

I have by tradition the following particulars of the mode of carrying on the home trade by one of the principal merchants of Manchester, who was born at the commencement of the last century, and who realized a sufficient fortune to keep a carriage when not half a dozen were kept in the town by persons connected with business. He sent the manufactures of the place into Nottinghamshire, Lincolnshire, Cambridgeshire, and the intervening counties, and principally took in exchange feathers from Lincolnshire, and malt from Cambridgeshire and Nottinghamshire. All his commodities were conveyed on pack-horses, and he was from home the greater part of every year, performing his journeys entirely on horseback. His balances were received in guineas, and were carried with him in his saddle-bags. He was exposed to the

vicissitudes of the weather, to great labour and fatigue, and to constant danger. In Lincolnshire he travelled chiefly along bridleways through fields, where frequent gibbets warned him of his perils, and where flocks of wild fowl continually darkened the air. Business carried on in this manner required a combination of personal attention, courage, and physical strength, not to be hoped for in a deputy; and a merchant then led a much more severe and irksome life than a bagman afterwards, and still more than a traveller of the present day. Competition could but be small; but the returns from capital were not so high in reality as in appearance, because the wages of labour ought to be deducted, and probably the same exertion now would produce from the same beginnings ten times the fortune.

The improvements in the mode of carrying on commerce, and its increase, may be attributed in a great degree to the increased facility of communication, and the difference between the times I have alluded to and the present, is nearly as great as that between a pack-horse and a steam-carriage. What will be the progress fifty years hence defies calculation.*

I lately heard a striking instance of the advantages of steam in towing vessels. An Indiaman used sometimes to lie at Blackwall six weeks before she could get to Gravesend, because she had to wait for the combination of spring tides and a favourable wind. Now the same sized vessel could get down with certainty in three hours.

Before I conclude this article, I will relate, that in the earlier days of the merchant above mentioned, the wine merchant who supplied Manchester resided at Preston, then always called Proud Preston, because exclusively inhabited by gentry. The wine was carried on horses, and a gallon was considered a large order. Men in business confined themselves generally to punch and ale, using wine only as a medicine, or on very extraordinary occasions; so that a considerable tradesman somewhat injured his credit amongst his neighbours, by being so extravagant as to send to a tavern for wine even to entertain a London customer.

Before Preston itself existed, in the time of the Romans, the only port in Lancashire was a few miles higher up the river Ribble, and was called Rerigonium, of which there is now scarcely any, or no trace. If I rightly recollect my reading, the chief exports to Rome consisted of willow baskets, bull-dogs, and slaves. Rerigonium was the Liverpool of the present day.

* [Forty years of the fifty have elapsed since this was written; and we who are living now know how much the facts of our every-day experience have outstripped anticipation.]

[RAILWAYS.]

This is a fitting place to say something of railways as the grandest of all agencies in effecting changes in commerce; and I do so the more willingly as I feel sure that, had railways existed to any great extent when the author of "The Original" wrote, he must have taken some notice of them. Happily for my purpose, there has come to hand within these few days a speech by Sir Edward W. Watkin, M.P., made at Manchester on the 27th January, 1875, on the occasion of the meeting of the Manchester, Sheffield, and Lincolnshire Railway Company, which speech I will try to condense for the reader's benefit.

Sir Edward is addressing the railway shareholder, who is entitled, as he justly thinks, to be numbered with the benefactors of mankind. No less than 300,000 men and women have among them contributed 600,000,000*l.* to make and maintain the railways of the three kingdoms. These men and women are no "bloated capitalists;" for, one with another, shareholder and bondholder together, they have only invested 2000*l.* apiece; and for this the best interest they ever got was 4*l.* 14*s.* 9*d.* per cent. That was in 1872. Now five per cent. on capital is a common charge in business, whether done by steam or not, and the man who does not get five per cent. cannot be said to be making money. But this interest of 4*l.* 14*s.* 9*d.* per cent. is that which the shareholder gets, not on the original cost of the railways, but on their present value. So greatly has the value of all landed property risen, and so much have our railways themselves added to it, that the original sites of many a station and line could not now be bought for twenty times the purchase money at the date of their opening. If this increase of value were fairly taken into account, so large an addition would have to be made to the six hundred millions, that the interest could not be fairly estimated at more than 3½ per cent. on the original outlay.

And this poorly paid railway shareholder has had to embark in a multitude of subsidiary occupations. He is a common carrier, a warehousing agent, a wharfinger, a dock-owner, a steamboat proprietor; and for all this he gets only this small dividend. Assume money to be worth 5 per cent., and the shareholder, receiving only 3½ per cent., is making a present to somebody or other of 180,000,000*l.*, being 1½ per cent. on the cost, multiplied by 20. Then the railway proprietor pays a million a year for local rates and taxes; 500,000*l.* a year for passenger duty:—a duty imposed on railways to compensate for the duties that once existed on post-horses, omnibuses, and other means of locomotion. Next to a tax on the food of the people,

there cannot, Sir Edward thinks, be a worse tax than this; for a tax on locomotion is a thing that nothing but dire necessity can justify, and which the late remission of duty on other carrying industries has made singularly unjust. To the loss of 180,000,000*l.*, then, we must add something like 30,000,000*l.* of capital thus rendered unproductive.

At this prime cost, and by these continuous sacrifices, the railway shareholder has brought it to pass that in the year 1874, 600,000,000 journeys were made at an average fare per passenger of about 9*d.*; and 65,000,000 tons of merchandise were carried, at 6*s.* a ton. This included, in a great many cases, cartage, delivery and collection, warehousing, and a number of other things besides mere conveyance. Add 140,000,000 tons of minerals at an average cost of 1*s.* 10*d.* a ton, and you have a grand total of benefits conferred and received. But this is not all. The railway shareholder has virtually added to the length of human life, and to the sum of human comforts and pleasures. There is no doubt whatever that he has doubled, and in some cases quadrupled, the value of all property, and, by opening out new sources of employment, has largely augmented the wages of labour. Without the railway shareholder, again, Free Trade would have had but a partial success. It is no use exporting and importing the produce of the world from port to port unless the means are at hand to convey it quickly to every part of the kingdom, and from one centre of employment to another. But for the railway shareholder, too, cheap postage would have been an impossibility; and the Press would have lacked its best agencies of distribution. If we add to these advantages one not specified in the address—namely, the breaking down of local barriers, and the blending together of previously isolated populations, we have an aggregate of advantages for which, as not being a member of their class, I can with propriety propose a vote of thanks to the Railway Shareholder.

TWOPENNY POST.

The Twopenny Post is a great convenience, and would be a much greater if it were used without restraint. It is a pity that in this land of liberty there should be so much tyranny from absurd customs. Why should any one be affronted by the payment of postage, which is to save the trouble of sending a servant or the expense of a special messenger? Why should a domestic travel a mile when a few yards would suffice, or a shilling or eighteenpence be paid instead of twopence? A free use of the post would promote a great deal of easy intercourse, which the trouble or expense of sending entirely prevents; and, indeed, to distant parts of the town in different directions, there can be no mode of conveyance at once so convenient and so capable of

despatch. It enables communications to be made, and answers to be returned, at almost all times, without delay; and, if used to a greater extent, would most probably be rendered still more efficient by an increased number of deliveries. I am happy to say that I have of late perceived a considerable relaxation of former restraint; and for my own part I intend to take the liberty of paying postage whenever it suits my convenience, assuming that my correspondents are not subject to the vulgar-minded habit of fancying affronts.

It has often been suggested, and with great reason, that it would be desirable to have the receiving-houses for letters distinguished in such a manner as to make them easily perceptible, and it appears to me that this object would in general be sufficiently accomplished if the nearest lamp had some peculiar mark for the day, and a portion of coloured glass for night, with a difference for the two posts, General and Twopenny. [Why not names of streets, and numbers of houses, too?]

SAVINGS' BANKS.

In looking over some papers, I found a little tract entitled "Observations on the Utility and Management of Savings' Banks," which I wrote a long time since in reference to the village where I first turned my attention to the subject of pauperism. Though savings' banks are now well understood, which was not the case when I wrote, I subjoin a few extracts, as placing some of their advantages in a familiar point of view, and as having relation to the article which follows on a bank for seamen. Some of the reasoning, too, is applicable to those who are above the condition of the classes to whom I was addressing myself.

"Should a young man of eighteen begin to save two shillings a week, and go regularly on for ten years, he would at the age of twenty-eight have in bank, reckoning his savings and the interest, about sixty pounds; the value of which, observe, consists very much in the manner of acquiring it. For suppose him to have spent those ten years, as is too commonly the case, working half his time, and drinking and idling the rest, and suppose the sum of sixty pounds to be then given him, what effect would it have? Would he not most likely drink more and work less? Does money make bad habits into good ones? It is rather like putting manure upon weeds—it only makes them ranker.

"But when a man has set his mind upon saving, he will almost necessarily contract such habits as will make his savings useful. He will find hard work grow easier, because it increases his gains; he will shun idleness because it stops them; he will turn away from the alehouse, because it swallows them up; he will be content with frugal

fare, because it adds to his savings, and though he may look forward to the comforts of marriage, he will be in no hurry to bring upon himself the charges of a family. Being careful himself, he will look about for some careful young woman, and they will resolve not to be married till they can furnish a house and have some money in store. This will make them doubly industrious and doubly careful, and then their savings will mount up so fast, that perhaps they will begin to have higher notions, and will put off their marriage a little longer, till they have saved enough to set up on a small farm, or in some business, where they think they can, by joining their savings, become richer, though married, than they could separate. Here marriage is indeed a blessing! The children will have advantages in education, which their parents did not possess; and though all this cannot happen to all, it is yet impossible to foresee what benefit may arise to a man and his descendants, from placing a portion of his early earnings in a savings' bank. One shilling a week saved will, with the interest, amount to twenty pounds in seven years. Three shillings a week will amount to sixty pounds in the same period. If a man who earns thirty shillings a week deposits ten, he will possess at the end of five years one hundred and forty pounds; and if he should marry a female who has been able to accumulate half as much, they would together possess no less a sum than two hundred guineas to begin the world with.

"It is true that a savings' bank holds out the best prospect to those who are young and unencumbered; but almost all may derive some advantage from it—at least they may point out to their children the easy means of securing their own comfort, and it will be strange, if out of a large family, some do not prove able to assist their less fortunate parents in their old age.—Teach but a child to put part of his first little earnings in the bank, and in all probability poverty will not overtake him to the end of his life. Teach one child to save, and others will follow the example, till industry and frugality become as common as vice and misery are now. If a boy of twelve years of age can lay by threepence a week till he is fourteen—then sixpence a week till he is sixteen—and then one shilling a week till he is eighteen, by which time he may be supposed to have learnt his business, he will have in the bank, adding the interest of his money, ten pounds; besides having acquired habits of industry and carefulness. It has been shown above, what he may lay by in the next ten years; and what he will be at the end of that time, compared with men of his own age, who have not saved, and who are neither industrious nor careful, need not be shown.

"Many, who have been wild in their youth, begin to be steady when they marry; but bad habits will break out, and an increasing

family presses so hard upon those who have nothing beforehand, that they often become discouraged, and sink under the evils of poverty. They need not, however, despair—let them consider, if they have not some inclination, which they now and then indulge at the expense of some of their comforts, though the thought of it afterwards only causes them pain. Let them try to turn that inclination into an inclination for saving; it will soon grow upon them, for it gives pleasure both in deed and in thought; it will go with them to the plough, it will stay with them at the loom, and will sweeten the labour of both. Let them only make a beginning, if it is but with sixpence; if necessity compels them, they can take it back; the attempt will do them credit, and perhaps they will be more fortunate another time. Let them consider every penny they spend; let them examine if they cannot do without something which before they thought necessary. If they happen to have money in their pockets, without any immediate use for it, let them take it to the bank, and trust to their industry to supply their future wants.

"A shilling, not called for, soon tempts to the alehouse, it is soon spent there, a shot is soon run up, a day's wages are soon lost, and thus five shillings are gone without thought and without profit.

"Now five shillings in the bank would make an excellent beginning towards rent, or towards clothing. Scrape a little money together, and some pounds in the year may be saved, by laying in potatoes, or flour, or coals at first hand, instead of in very small quantities, and on credit. By buying two pair of good strong shoes at once, so that they may always be well dried before they are put on, and mended as soon as they want it, two pair will last as long as three that are constantly worn; here are at least ten shillings saved, besides the saving of health and strength.

"There are many other ways of saving, by means of a little money beforehand; and it is clear that a man and his family who earn four-and-twenty shillings a week, may, by good management, live better than they did before; or, if they prefer it, may lay by a few pounds at the end of the year. If a man wants to borrow a little money on any particular occasion, or for any particular purpose, what is so likely to obtain him credit, as his having been a regular saver in the bank? If he has unfortunately not been so steady as he might have been, what is so likely to get him a character as his beginning to put money in the bank?

"But there is scarcely any end to the advantages of such an establishment to those who choose to avail themselves of it; for unmarried women especially it is particularly desirable; they may there place their savings in safety, without trouble or expense; it gives them the

best opportunity of making themselves comfortable if they marry, and independent if they do not.

"As yet savings' banks have not been established long enough to prove more than a very few of the good effects that may be expected from them. They are calculated, however, to serve the country in the best of all possible ways, by enabling every man to serve himself; they hold out encouragement to youth, comfort to middle life, and independence to old age, and a perpetual opportunity to men to improve their condition from generation to generation."

As the introduction of savings' banks will, I have no doubt, eventually prove to have been the foundation of an entirely new era in the habits and condition of the labouring classes, I subjoin, as an interesting record, the following extract from Mr. Hutchinson's observations:—

"It is somewhat remarkable, that although a saving's bank was established at Tottenham, only seven miles from London, in 1804, the attention of the public was not directed to the subject until 1810, when the Reverend H. Duncan, of Ruthwell, published a paper, in which he proposed to the gentlemen of the county of Dumfries the establishment of banks for savings in the different parishes in the district, and established one in his own parish in that year, not being then aware that a similar institution had been established at West Calder in 1807. Though some institutions, similar both in their principles and details, had been formed before the parish bank of Ruthwell, yet it was the first of the kind which was regularly and minutely organized and brought before the public; and, further, as that society gave the impulse, which has so widely spread through the United Kingdom, it is in all fairness entitled to the appellation of the parent society, although the *original* society was the charitable bank at Tottenham. It is a curious fact, that London, which should be, and generally is, among the first to lead in all matters of public interest, was, in this instance, among the last to follow, and that no institution of this kind of any note was opened in the metropolis till the end of January, 1816, when the London Savings' Bank commenced its operations. It is no less curious that the first Act of Parliament passed relating to savings' banks, was to encourage the establishment of them in Ireland, in the 57th year of George the Third, and that until very recently no act was passed relating to savings' banks in Scotland."

SAVINGS' BANK FOR SEAMEN.

In consequence of my articles on the habits and treatment of sailors when on shore, I received a communication on the subject of an esta-

blishment of a savings' bank for that class of persons, from Mr. Hutchinson, actuary of the London Provident Institution, Blomfield-street, Moorfields, with whom I became acquainted when he was serving the office of overseer in the parish of Limehouse, which is within the jurisdiction of my office. Mr. Hutchinson is doubly entitled to attention on this subject; first, from a long residence in the maritime quarter of the metropolis, and an acquaintance with parochial affairs there; and, secondly, from a daily experience of several years in a savings' bank of great business. He informed me that he had some time since sketched a plan for a seamen's savings' bank, but that he was discouraged from going on with it in consequence of the death of a gentleman who took a principal interest in its success. At my desire he has furnished me with a few observations, which I shall make the groundwork of the following article, in many instances using his own words.

Of all the plans devised for bettering the condition of the labouring classes, not one has so successfully promoted that object as the establishment of savings' banks. This marked success has been the natural result of the application of a sound principle, namely, that the bettering the condition of the lower classes rests mainly with themselves, and that all attempts to accomplish this desirable object by means of bounties and premiums has an indirect tendency to make their condition worse, inasmuch as bounties and premiums teach them rather to lean upon others, than to depend upon their own exertions for support.

The Society for Bettering the Condition of the Poor seems to have come to this conclusion after many years of experience; for upon the establishment of savings' banks in the metropolis, it immediately applied its funds to the support of these institutions, and materially assisted in permanently establishing them.

Although the numerous savings' banks in the metropolis would seem to meet the convenience of all persons desirous of availing themselves of them, there is yet one class, whose peculiar situation and habits require that an institution should be especially established for their benefit. The seamen frequenting the port of London make little use of the savings' banks now existing. They are not in any particular manner brought to their notice. The rules and regulations have no particular relation to their peculiar exigencies and way of life. They have no friends to put them in the right way; whilst they are beset on every side by the most voracious and profligate of both sexes, whose interest it is to decoy them into habits of the most senseless improvidence. From the moment they arrive in port, and before they can set foot on shore, till they are not only pennyless, but have utterly ex-

hausted their credit on the most ruinous terms, they are made victims of a regularly organized gang of land-sharks who haunt them wherever they go. Calumniated and unprotected whilst they might be able to secure their independence, they become objects of sympathy only when sickness, accident, or old age has reduced them and their families to destitution.

A sailor's reception on his return to land is ordinarily a sorry recompense for the dangers and hardships of a long voyage; and in a few days he often finds himself shamelessly stripped of the earnings of as many months. When on the ocean he must make up his mind to be cut off from domestic enjoyment, but when on land it is too often embittered or destroyed by the profligate system to which he is exposed. It is a mistake to suppose that seamen are naturally more improvident than landsmen; they are made so by the circumstance of receiving their wages in accumulated sums, and other men in the same rank of life, when exposed to the like temptation, seldom resist to a less extent, except in so far as they are not equally beset by villainy. In how many trades do the majority of workmen cease to labour as long as they have a shilling in their pockets! But this failing is not an incurable one, if all possible facilities and allurements were afforded to habits of saving; and the sailor has then an advantage over all other classes of labourers, in that, whilst he is earning his wages, he has not only no temptation to waste them, but he has seldom the possibility. Once instil into a seaman a desire for accumulation, and it is easier to him than to any other individual; he puts a lump in store, and on his return finds it not only safe, but increased. He has the means in his hands to double it. Is he not likely to apply them so; and to go to sea again a better sailor than the spendthrift, and as soon? A desire of saving having taken root in a sailor's mind, it has more time and opportunity to grow there than under any other circumstances; and as a certain similarity of habits must ever characterize the class, a partial change for the better would most probably lead to an universal one.

The establishment of a seaman's savings' bank in the most central situation, and under rules and regulations having solely in view the habits and convenience of the class, would in all probability confer invaluable benefits upon them, if patronised and supported by the shipping interest. Here the produce of their labour might be safely housed until wanted for beneficial purposes, instead of being dissipated in profligacy and folly, or made a prey to others. What a benefit it would be to a sailor to have his wages placed in security, if only till, upon getting another ship, he might be enabled to purchase his outfit with his own money, instead of being driven to procure it,

on the most extortionate terms! But if a permanent habit of saving could be produced, it would, by raising him in his own estimation, make him a more valuable servant, and eventually be productive of great national benefit.

Experience has shown, that when a depositor in a savings' bank has succeeded in accumulating a few pounds, a most extraordinary stimulus is frequently given to the formation of habits of industry and economy, and every nerve appears to be strained to increase his fund. At the same time the very bearing and manner of the individual is altered, and he seems to have acquired a proper feeling of self-respect, the spread of which must produce the most beneficial results to society at large. The British seaman has many noble qualities, which, as is often visible, make him the more keenly feel the debasement of some of his habits, and which would doubtless induce him to enter more willingly into any better course that might be opened to him. There seems no mode of offering him a better course, in principle so sound, or in operation so easy, as by the establishment of a savings' bank, having for its sole object the encouragement of provident habits among the seafaring class, by affording them every possible facility to place whatever part of their hard earnings they may have to spare, out of the reach of imposition and robbery, for their own benefit and for that of their families. The principal objects to be aimed at in the seamen's savings' bank would be:—

1st. To establish it in the most central situation: to have it open at the hours most suitable to the convenience of seafaring men; and to have in attendance persons familiar with their habits and humours.

2ndly. To afford every proper facility both in investing and withdrawing deposits, so as to hold out the greatest inducements to invest, and at the same time to meet the sudden exigencies of sailors wanting money for their outfit, or any other necessary purpose.

3rdly. To afford facilities for making provision for seamen's families during their absence at sea.

4thly. To receive the wages of sailors on their behalf from their employers.

5thly. When desired, to purchase annuities for seamen, and to invest their money in the funds when exceeding the amount allowed by law to be in the savings' bank.

6thly. To keep a register of depositors wanting ships for the purpose of being referred to by shipowners wanting steady men.

7thly. To provide for distributing savings and receiving wages in case of death.

8thly. To act in every possible way as the stewards and friends of the depositors.

Lastly. To apply to Parliament for whatever increased powers might be necessary to promote the above ends.

It seems to me not to admit of a doubt but that a savings' bank for seamen, properly set on foot, would be productive of much immediate good, and that it might ultimately lay the foundation of an entire change of habit in respect to prudence among that numerous and important class. It is a subject that comes particularly home to me, because I have had occasion so often to become acquainted, in my magisterial capacity, with the dreadful impositions, robberies, and profligacy, which are consequent upon the arrival of any number of vessels from distant parts of the globe; and from the arts that are practised against sailors by gangs of confederates, in decoying, and stupifying them with liquor and with drugs, it is generally quite impossible to fix any proof of guilt. In fact, they are almost helplessly exposed to every combination of villainy, and whether they are the accusers or the accused, they are almost equally objects of pity.

I have known instances of sailors being robbed of fifty pounds or upwards, the very day they received it; but having been first rendered senseless, detection is impossible. Sometimes the day following their coming ashore, or even the same day, they are themselves brought up for drunkenness and disorder, the consequence of conspiracy against them; and when remonstrated with on their imprudence, they will pathetically lament their helpless situation. Their better protection is a subject which deeply concerns themselves and all who are connected with them. It is of great importance to ship-owners, and to the maritime interest generally.

Society at large is much interested, from selfish motives, as well as from motives of humanity, in shutting up the fertile field which the improvidence of sailors offers to vice and crime; and even a regard for the profligates and criminals themselves should induce an effort to remove temptation out of their way.

British seamen do not stand in need of charity, but justice; and I hope to see their cause meet with the highest patronage and the most extensive support, and I have no doubt it will be so, if once taken up by those most competent to ensure its success. I should like to see a public meeting called by influential men, and a subscription opened for the purpose of establishing a savings' bank for seamen on the most efficient and attractive plan, in a handsome and commodious building, worthy of its object, with officers in the various departments most competent to discharge their duties. As any attempt to render seamen provident would meet with all sorts of opposition, underhand and open, from those who are interested in keeping them in their present state,

and as their fears and prejudices, and suspicions would be excited by all possible means, every practicable effort and allurement should be resorted to in the outset to effect a change. Success in the metropolis would doubtless be followed by similar results in the other sea-ports of the kingdom. If the plan is taken up by men of business and influence most qualified to bring it to maturity, I shall have great pleasure in contributing twenty guineas, and my services, if they can be made in any way available.

Though in what I have said of the habits of sailors, there is no exaggeration when applied to a great portion of them, yet is there another portion, and not an inconsiderable one, which is distinguished by prudence and regularity of conduct, and I believe this latter portion is now on the increase. It is, in my opinion, a very strong argument in favour of the establishment of a savings' bank for seamen on an efficient and extensive plan, that whilst it would powerfully contribute to rescue the improvident from the evils with which they are surrounded, it would at the same time afford facilities to the efforts of the well-conducted, especially in the beginning of their career, which under no other system could they so certainly enjoy. My view of such an institution is, that after being well started and complete in all its appointments, it should be made to pay its own expenses, and that it should not be artificially and precariously maintained by external aid. I would have a general superintendence by influential men and all the rest matter of business. As I said before, British seamen do not want charity, but justice; and I should consider any effort now made in their behalf, only as the payment of a debt due to them for past ill-treatment and neglect.

[These suggestions for establishing savings' banks for seamen seem to have attracted public attention, as I infer from the following leading article taken from *The Times* of November 10th, 1835:—

"Seamen who have been swindled out of the hard-earned remuneration of their services are every day to be met with in the eastern extremities of the metropolis. They present to every feeling mind a melancholy spectacle of distress, which is aggravated by the recollection that these suffering individuals form, upon the whole, a considerable portion of the most efficient members of a class to whose labours and energies the country is indebted for the larger share of her greatness and prosperity. During the present inclement season sickness is often added to destitution, and many would doubtless be found dead in our street, were it not for the shelter and medical aid benevolently provided by the hospital ship at Greenwich. Many schemes have been suggested for protecting those unwary beings from the wretches who watch at every port the arrival of ships, which bring within their

grasp numerous victims, too inexperienced and too inconsiderate to avoid the snares which are laid for them, and which cruelly disappoint all the flattering hopes fondly cherished by the mariner during his homeward voyage. The measures suggested as safeguards for the sailor are, however, in general altogether deficient in one essential point,—namely, to show him how to take care of himself. It is therefore with much satisfaction we find that Mr. Walker, whose experience as a magistrate gives great authority to his recommendation, proposes the establishment of savings' banks for seamen. Nothing, we think, could be better calculated to create that prudence and forethought, the want of which so unavoidably exposes these unfortunate men to imposition, and consequently to the deepest distress. The great importance of this subject induces us to extract the article which Mr. Walker has inserted in "The Original."

Here follows the article *in extenso.*]

IMPRESSMENT.

My article on savings' banks for seamen, was written with a view to raise the moral standard of that numerous and very important class. In these times of peace and progressive enlightenment, the plan I advocate, or something like it, has I hope, every probability of meeting with encouragement. It would have been quite otherwise formerly. During the last war, and especially till the enemy's fleets were destroyed, nothing was thought of in manning our immense navy, but the most summary process. Justice, humanity, and ultimate results were entirely lost sight of in the sense of immediate danger; and seamen were kidnapped, and forced into the public service, and there detained, in violation of the most sacred rights of free-born men, and often far beyond what anything like necessity demanded. To maintain such a system, it was the consequent policy to promote improvidence amongst the seafaring class by the encouragement of every species of profligacy and folly; by which policy the State was undoubtedly worse served, and at a greater expense, than it would have been by an adherence to a more moral course. However, the great end was gained, and that in those days justified the worst means. The consequences were, from that and other co-operating causes, a great increase of pauperism, crime, and debasement.

Any attempt to improve the moral condition of seamen would then have been scouted, and put down at once, as detrimental to the exigencies of the State; and a proposal to teach a sailor to save his money would have been considered as little less than treason. The system of impressment was looked upon as indispensable, and it could

only prevail, in a free country, with men who were made the slaves of irregular habits.

The pretext for impressment was its necessity in emergencies, but the practice was extended to all cases, with a view to obtain the services of seamen for a less price than if they had been fairly bid for—a most iniquitous and unwise principle. It is this view that leads many of those, who are concerned in merchant shipping, to maintain that sailors are inevitably improvident, and that the sooner they spend, or are deprived of their earnings, the better. It is certainly true, that the direct and nominal wages of improvident labourers are generally less than the wages of those with more prudence, as is instanced in the difference between the nominal price of labour in pauperised and non-pauperised districts. But it is equally true, that taking the quantity and quality of labour performed, that of the provident labourer in reality costs the least. The cost of the labour of the improvident labourer may be divided, and part of it may be shifted from the immediate employer, as in the case of a pauperised labourer, but it must be paid from some quarter, and at a rate above its value. But beside this question of calculation, there are considerations of justice and humanity, which ought to be of paramount importance with every well-conditioned mind. Those who wring labour from others, by keeping them in a state of moral debasement, will assuredly have to answer for it. It is said by some, as a justification of impressment, that all who enter upon a seafaring career, are perfectly aware of their liability; but it is unjust to impose upon any particular mode of life inconveniences or hardships, which do not of necessity belong to it. No citizen has a right to complain of being forced to take arms in the defence of his country, when emergency arises, and for as long as the emergency lasts; nor could he complain of having his property laid waste, when necessary to arrest the progress of an invading army. But the emergency and the necessity must be real, and not assumed; and any inconvenience or loss sustained for the common good ought to be liberally compensated at the common expense. Just so it is with sailors: their liability extends to be called upon in every emergency, and during the existence of the emergency; but like every other citizen, they are entitled to compensation, not only in proportion to their services, but with reference to the circumstances under which they were required; and those, from whose employment they are taken, are in like manner entitled to indemnity. The only difference between a sailor's occupation and any other is, that he is much more exposed by the nature of the service to the occurrence of emergencies demanding a sacrifice to the public. But there is no reason that the frequency of such emergencies should be made the pretext of assuming

a right over a sailor's free will, at all times, and under all circumstances.

When Lord Nelson pursued the combined fleets of France and Spain previously to the battle of Trafalgar, it would be absurd to maintain that he would not have been justified in every point of view in taking from any merchant vessels he fell in with, whatever men might be necessary to render his crews efficient, though contrary to the inclination of the men, and at the risk of danger to private property. But when the emergency ceases, then ought the question of compensation to be considered; and in the above instance, the sailors pressed were in justice entitled to be strictly remunerated for the restraint, and for their wounds; and in case of death, dependent relatives had equitable claims, as also the employers, for any loss consequent upon the diminution of their crews. This is the fair adjustment between a State and her citizens; and it is to be hoped that the time is gone by, when justice will be kept in the back-ground from considerations of partial economy.

It seems to me that, as the moral habits of the seafaring class improve, impressment, as the ordinary mode of manning the navy, will become impracticable, and that the country would gain immensely by the change. I am wholly incompetent to enter into practical details as to the limits to which impressment ought to be subject; but in principle, I apprehend, it ought to be confined to actual emergency, and that those who are pressed should be entitled to liberal compensation. It would be, no doubt, necessary to invest the Lords of the Admiralty, and, through them, every commander, with a power of ordering impressment, according to their discretion, but at their own risk: the necessity, in case of inquiry, to be decided by some competent tribunal, as also the amount of compensation. I should say, that in all cases of compensation, the claims should be settled by the government, and that any question as to the conduct of officers should be between them and the government, and not between officers and individuals. In times of profound peace like the present, the question of impressment would be most likely to be deliberately discussed, and satisfactorily settled; and there would, it is to be hoped, be ample time to make any necessary provision for a change of system.*

* [Impressment was practised in very remote times; certainly as early as the middle of the fourteenth century, and though it was declared by Parliament, in 1641, to be illegal, it was put in force throughout the war with revolutionary France. Happily it was not found necessary in the war with Russia in 1854, and it is not likely that it will ever be resorted to again, unless in the very improbable case of such an extreme emergency as is spoken of above.]

III. CHARITY, TRUE AND FALSE.

IMPOSITION.

A short time since a boy about twelve years of age was brought before me by a journeyman shoemaker's wife, who said she had found him in a state of great destitution, and had taken him in for charity, but that her husband would not let him remain any longer, and the overseers of the parish, to whom she had represented the case, would not afford any relief. On being questioned, the boy said he was born and had lived in some out-of-the-way place in Essex, which he described; that his father had died of cholera, and that his uncle, after keeping him some time, had brought him to London, and left him without a place to go to. Though I was convinced, from experience, that there was imposition on the part of the woman, or the boy, or both, I was unable to detect it, and I sent the boy to the workhouse of the parish where he was found, and, after my business was over, went there myself; but still, with the assistance of the parish-officers, I was baffled in endeavouring to get at the truth, and the woman was told to take the boy till inquiries could be made. From those inquiries enough was learned to refuse assistance: and the boy, having been turned out by the shoemaker, was again brought to my office for wandering about. A policeman was now sent with him to ascertain the truth, and by some means he discovered that the boy was a runaway apprentice from a shoemaker at Bethnal Green, to whom he had been bound from a parish in London, in the workhouse of which he was born and brought up; and consequently his story about his father, his uncle, and Essex, was an entire fiction. It further appeared that on the complaint of his master for thieving and other misbehaviour, I had once committed him to the House of Correction for one month, though he was not recognised either by myself or by any one about the office; but I then recollected that I had received a communication from the governor of the prison, at the desire of the visiting magistrates, informing me that the boy had made a complaint of having been grievously starved by his master, and that there could be no doubt of the fact, as his appearance on his arrival quite corresponded with his account. In consequence, I sent an officer to inquire into the case, and he learnt that the statement was without foundation. I also ascertained that at the time I committed the boy, he made no complaint of being starved, nor presented any appearance of starvation, so that he had had the art to assume it within a few hours after I saw him. On his last appearance

before me, his master again came, and declaring him incorrigible, I sent him once more to the House of Correction, where he now is.

I see many instances of this consummate degree of imposition in men, women, and children, and I mention the above case by way of putting those on their guard who have not opportunities of detecting false statements, or experience in judging of the tales of applicants for assistance.

I have taken great pains to sift a variety of cases of apparent destitution, and sometimes have been baffled for a considerable period; but it is singular, and at the same time consoling, that I have not met with one real instance—that is, an instance in which the party had not the means of more or less escaping from a state of want.

There is a degree of debasement which creates an inveterate habit of delighting in a miserable life, and whatever means were furnished, they would effect no improvement. Wherever extreme misery is observed, it may be taken to be an incurable disease.

I have known many cases of persons wandering in the streets in the most deplorable condition, who had homes to go to, or who would have been received into their respective workhouses; and the most wretched being I ever saw, and who fell a sacrifice to his morbid habits, had his choice of constant employment with a tradesman, or of the workhouse, but he preferred perishing in a vagabond state.

Most of these cases originate, I apprehend, in a skill in imposition, which there is a pleasure in exercising; and the practice of feigning misery on the one hand, and the habits of indolence generated on the other, at last produce that debasement from which there is no return. Skill in imposition is a most dangerous quality, and a propensity to indulge in the exercise of it seems irresistible.

The boy, whose case I have above mentioned, I have no doubt, will never be reclaimed. Such cases may be prevented, but can never be cured, and the thoughtless charity of the many holds out endless temptations to those who choose to prey upon it. The real remedy for this debasement consists in more efficient local government, which, by moral influence, would prevent the existence of such a refuse population as is now to be found in almost every parish.

I mention these facts for the double purpose of putting the charitable upon their guard, and of diminishing the harvest for the encouragement of impostors.

There is a species of applicants which I intended, but omitted, to mention, which of all others is the most unlikely to excite suspicion, and is at the same time the least liable to detection: I mean those who state themselves to have come from distant parts of the country to London to seek service or employment, or to find out relations or

friends, and who represent themselves to have been disappointed, and to be reduced to a state of utter destitution—adding, perhaps, some calamitous circumstance of having fallen ill, or having been robbed.

It must be confessed that nothing can be more probable than that many such cases should happen, or rather it seems most improbable that they should not continually happen. Nevertheless, though I cannot account for it, I find from diligent examination that such is by no means the fact. Whether it is that few persons come on mere speculation, or that even the least portion of prudence helps them through their difficulties, or that they meet with sufficient assistance from those of their own calling or class I do not exactly know; but this I know, that for six years that I have been a magistrate, during which time I have witnessed many and many cases of persons of both sexes and all ages, who have represented themselves as having come to London from all parts of the United Kingdom, and to be from various calamitous accidents reduced to utter destitution—during these six years, I say, I have not met with a single instance which was not one of imposition, and where my interposition was necessary.

I have very frequently had cases, which appeared to me desperate, examined into by parish-officers, and in several instances I have had persons taken care of under my own superintendence, and at my own expense, till the truth of their representations could be ascertained, but the results have been uniformly the same; and my conclusion is, that there is no such thing in this country as what may be called isolated destitution, that is, destitution out of some particular sphere of sympathy; and therefore my opinion is, that those who bestow their charity upon casual applicants utterly unknown to them, under however plausible circumstances, are only diverting their means from legitimate ends, and are fostering fraud and promoting moral debasement.

It was but the other day, whilst I was thinking of these things, that a case was brought before me, which I thought would at last prove an exception. An old man, of wretched appearance, was found by a policeman at night lying in the street, apparently almost dying. With difficulty he was taken to the station, and he told me he was on his way out of Sussex to Colchester, which was his native place, and that he had no money, and was very ill with the ague, of which he had all the appearance. Whilst I was thinking what to do with him, I observed that his right hand did not shake at all, of which I informed him, at the same time telling him firmly, that I knew he was an impostor, and that if he was found again in the neighbourhood I would send him to prison—whereupon his ague entirely ceased, and he quickly departed without saying a word.

There is scarcely any suffering which impostors will not endure to

gain their ends, and the greater their misery, the greater and surer their harvest. Their skill in counterfeiting starvation, sickness, and infirmity, is quite extraordinary, and the luxury of their suppers at the expense of the unwary is in proportion.

A case occurred at my office within a week, particularly illustrative of the impositions of applicants from the country, and it was one, from the sex and age of the party, peculiarly calculated to excite sympathy. A decent-looking girl of seventeen was brought before me to apply for assistance under circumstances stated to be of complete destitution. She said she came from Norwich; that her father was not long dead; that after his death she went into the service of an old Jew, who also soon died, and his daughter recommended her to come to London, where she told her she would easily get a service amongst the Jews. She said she had only a shilling and a shawl of trifling value to dispose of, when she left home; that she had not been able to get a place, and that she was reduced to sleep in the street. After asking her some questions, I was convinced her story was not true, and I dismissed her, quite contrary, as I perceived, to the judgment of the officer who brought her. The next day she was introduced again under the auspices of the gaoler of the office, who has had great experience in these matters, and he said he had examined her very closely, and he was convinced of the truth of her story. I questioned her again, and was confirmed in my former opinion, though I could not make her imposition clear to others. The gaoler pleaded hard for her, and asked me if I would send her to a neighbouring workhouse till he could write to Norwich to make the necessary inquiries, and if satisfactory, he would engage to get her a place. Knowing the bad policy of such a practice, I refused; and then he asked me if I had any objection to his providing a lodging for her at his own expense, till he could get an answer. I told him I had not, but that I thought his humanity would be unavailing. When the girl left my presence, the officers of the establishment made a little subscription for her amongst themselves—by no means an uncommon thing for them to do in cases of supposed distress. The gaoler was as good as his word; he not only procured a lodging for the girl, but understanding she was ill from lying in the street, he got her admission into the London Hospital, and also obtained a promise of a place for her when she should come out. Though I differed from him in opinion, I gave him great credit for his zeal and humanity; but the next morning he appeared before me, saying he felt bound to tell me the truth, which was, that he had discovered the girl's story to be false, that she had turned out to be an abandoned character, and that he had quite given her up.

If men of so much experience, with such opportunities of scruti-

nizing, could be so imposed upon, what chance have those in the upper classes of forming correct judgments in such cases? Though I have heard many quite indignant at the idea of being supposed to be deceived, when, as they say, they have seen with their own eyes, and examined with the greatest strictness, I can only recommend them, if they do not wish to do harm, to become as sceptical as they are credulous, and to reserve their means and their attentions for the prudent and the striving, who have always some earnest to give for their real characters.

Whilst I am upon this subject, I will mention one instance amongst several in which, with all my caution, I was completely taken in. A girl about sixteen years of age was accused before me of robbing a family, in whose service she lived. She strongly asserted her innocence, and the evidence was of such a nature that I was induced to believe it was the result of a conspiracy to ruin her character. As I have an objection to the principle of referring to parish assistance, I directed her to be placed, at my own expense, under the care of the landlady of a neighbouring public-house, in order to see how she behaved, and, if well, I intended to have had a situation procured for her. She remained for eight weeks, at the end of which time the landlady come to me to say, that since the girl had been with her she had missed several articles, and that the house had been twice set on fire. She added, she had long suspected the girl, and had at length no doubt of her guilt, and that she was afraid to keep her another hour. On examination my opinion was the same; so I gave the girl half-a-crown, and told her she must look out for herself. She went away with the wide world before her, perfectly unconcerned, and I have since learned that she contrived to procure herself a situation.

I have two remarks to make upon this case. The first is, that where depravity has once gained possession, it is almost hopeless to expect it will ever be eradicated. The more I see of life, the more I am confirmed in this opinion, and am therefore the more convinced of the necessity of early and watchful training, and of the inexpediency of diverting the public attention to attempts at reforming criminals. The second remark is, that, contrary to general belief, there is little or no difficulty for those who seriously try, to find situations or employment. The difficulty consists in so behaving as to keep them.

Provided only that a necessity for self-dependence can be made to be felt, then every person, however unlikely, soon finds a living somewhere. There is a market for all sorts of services at all sorts of prices. Individuals of defective intellects have a value at a certain class of public-houses by way of butt, and very often at farm-houses for something of the same reason, and to have thrown upon them the lowest

and most disagreeable offices. Lameness is a good guarantee for the faithful discharge of duties of a stationary or gentle nature, and age the same. Misfortune is often a sort of fortune in obtaining a preference for pity's sake; as a boy with one arm will be selected from a number of competitors to hold a horse.

If all persons felt obliged to hawk about their services for the best price they could get, all persons would be provided for. Customers are always to be met with, partly actuated by compassion, partly to get services cheap, partly taken by a plausible or earnest manner. Even want of character, whatever may be supposed to the contrary, is by no means an insuperable obstacle, because personal application continually supersedes inquiries as to character, and, in charges for misbehaviour, to the question, "Had you a character with this person?" the constant answer is, "I cannot say that I had." The course frequently is to ask for some reference, with which to be at once content, or to intend to inquire the first opportunity, but to neglect so to do.

It is curious to hear in the world the positive assertions that are made as to the modes in which the affairs of men are conducted, which are directly at variance with practice. I constantly hear it said, "How is a person to get a situation, who cannot get a character? It is impossible." And again, "How is such a man to find employment? Nobody will have him." One thing to me is certain, and that is, throw people on their own resources, and under circumstances the most untoward, they will get through so often as to make the exceptions not worth calculating. This brings me to conclude with a case which happened last week.

An aged female, on crutches, and with only one leg, was charged before me by an overseer, with abusive language and violent conduct in a workhouse, to an extent beyond all bearing. Her defence, amongst other things, was, that she was kept a close prisoner; to which it was answered, that the parish had gone to the expense of thirty shillings to purchase her a wooden leg, and that the first time she was allowed a holiday she got drunk, pawned her leg for a shilling, and was brought back in a helpless state of intoxication. This woman is one of a very numerous class, who are brought to utter ruin by a reliance on the poor-laws, and on mistaken private charity. I have no doubt, when it serves her purpose, her cant is equal to her abuse.

[The following anecdote finds its fitting place here. It corroborates what is said in the preceding article on the "luxury" of the mendicants' suppers.]

I will here mention a scene I witnessed in one of my rounds. On entering an obscure and dirty court about two o'clock in the morning,

we heard a loud laugh from a room in which there were lights. We were informed by the officer who accompanied us, that it was called the painted chamber, from the walls being covered with rude drawings, principally, as I recollect, of ships and portraits. In the room were about eight beds, in each of which was a man with a lighted candle over his head, and a pipe in his mouth, enjoying and contributing to the wit of the party. After talking with them for some time we left them to their mirth. These men were by profession beggars, and were the choice spirits of their order—no doubt as much exclusives as the most select circles in the west. It can only be in a neglected state of society that talent can be so degraded.

[The author of "The Original" says less than might have been expected about the gluttony and intemperance of the mendicant-thief community. The Report of the Mendicity Committee of 1815 abounds in illustrations of the fact. One witness gives a pleasant account of a public-house in Whitechapel known as "The Beggars' Opera," the resort of beggars in the evening, after having perambulated their several circuits, and lived well. They spent their money freely on hot suppers, beer, punch, and other liquors still more expensive. Another witness, speaking of women who hire or borrow children, and pinch and prick them to make them cry, says that they sometimes get in this way ten or twenty shillings a day, get into a state of intoxication two or three days in the week, live extremely well, and often indulge in rump-steaks and oyster sauce of a morning. A third witness surprises a Mrs. Hearn who had applied to him for relief with an excellent leg of mutton smoking, a half gallon can of porter, and a bottle of liquor believed to be gin. A fourth witness contributes several facts of this order. There is a little black man carrying one bag for silver and another for copper, who could spend fifty shillings a week for his board, would spit his own goose or his own duck, live very well, and could drink half a pint of spirits off at a time; and he has seen knots of beggars issuing forth in the morning with legs and arms tied up, fortifying themselves before starting with four or five glasses of gin, settling which way they should go, and meeting again in the evening to cook their own geese, or their own turkeys;—taking care, in the latter case, to decorate the bird with sausages, to which savoury dish they gave the appropriate name of "an alderman hung in chains." How little did the "kind ladies" and "good gentlemen" who indulged themselves in doles in the year 1815 suspect the sort of uses to which their money would be put! I wonder if the silly lady, whom I saw the other day deliberately take silver from her purse, and retrace her steps to place it in the hand of a fellow crouched in filthy rags on a door-step in Gower Street, has

sense enough to understand that in these things, as in so many others, there is "nothing new under the sun."]

REGULATION OF CHARITY.

There is nothing more destructive to the interests of mankind than the principle of providing for those whom Providence intended to provide for themselves, whether the principle is put in practice by government or by individuals, whether by poor-laws or by private bounty. By destroying moral energy it destroys the soul, and under the mask of kindness is the height of cruelty. Every one who idly gives, or to gratify his own feelings, or to avoid importunity, so far from well deserving, is answerable for the consequences arising from debasement. Casual charity is much to be deprecated: for the objects of it are ever undeserving, and it serves only to create, or perpetuate a lost race.

The rule is, that human beings are born into the world with a capability of self-dependence, if they please to avail themselves of it, and the exceptions are so few, as not to be worth providing for beforehand. To help those who are helping themselves, or who only want a fair start, is most praiseworthy and beneficial. To relieve the few, whom unavoidable calamity has utterly overwhelmed, or overtaken too late in life to have a chance of retrieving themselves, is a gratifying duty; but to lay down any general rule that the old are to be maintained, the fatherless to be provided for, the sick to be taken care of, is to render null God's ordinances in favour of prudence and foresight in the shape of the ordinary changes and vicissitudes of life.

There is no excuse for poverty so weak as that of old age; it is the very reason why a man should have made provision for himself. Though it is commonly assumed to be a sufficient plea for help, the truth has only to be stated to be past dispute. If the fatherless are held to be legally entitled to relief, the parental feeling of obligation to provide for children will be weakened or destroyed. If the sick are to be taken care of by law, one of the chief uses of health will be perverted or neglected.

Particular cases of old age, protracted beyond the usual period, children left destitute by extraordinary contingencies, or sickness of uncommon violence or duration, furnish legitimate objects for the voluntary care of relatives, friends, and neighbours, and that resource, if left to free operation, would always be found at least amply sufficient. Legal provision either makes the mass of misery it can but inadequately relieve, or is a wretched expedient for remedying the demoralization and debasement of defective government. Give men

fair play, with the full consequences of their own actions, and they will exhibit human nature according to a much higher standard than that of any system of poor-laws.

I will conclude this article with two strong illustrations—one a public, the other an individual case, in which relief was more than commensurate to an extraordinary emergency.

In July, 1794, a fire broke out in the hamlet of Ratcliff, in the parish of Stepney, which consumed more houses than any conflagration since the fire of London; above six hundred were burnt. An account was transmitted to Government, and arrived during the sitting of a cabinet council. In consequence, one hundred and fifty tents were ordered to be pitched for the reception of the distressed sufferers, and food was distributed for their relief; besides which, covered waggons were sent from the Tower to accommodate those for whom the tents were not sufficient. Amongst other subscriptions in aid of the sufferers, 7000*l.* was collected at Lloyd's in one day, and on one Sunday alone the sum of 800*l.* was received from visitants to the camp and ruins, of which 426*l.* was in copper, and 38*l.* 14*s.* in farthings—showing indisputably the universal sympathy of rich and poor with this call on their charity, and notice was soon given that there was no need of further aid.

The second case is the following. About eighteen years since, the rector of the parish of Whitechapel was called in the middle of the night to baptize four male infants, just born of one mother. The father, a journeyman shoemaker, was at a loss for names, and was overwhelmed at his prospect of what he thought certain ruin. At the suggestion of the rector, the children were named, according to the order of their birth, Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, and he caused the facts to be inserted in the newspapers. The consequence was, a vast number of personal inquiries by different classes, large presents of baby-linen and other things, and unsolicited contributions to the amount of nine hundred pounds. The children all died before the expiration of fourteen months, and the greater part of the money was soon after wasted in mismanagement and extravagance.

I will add, that well-reputed widows, with large families and slender means, are often even benefited, pecuniarily and as to the advancement of their children, by the loss of their husbands, on account of the many friends they meet with. Indeed I do not think there is a man or woman in this country who deserves support, that does not find it; but of this I am quite sure, that the contrary is much too often the case.

GIVING MONEY.

I have received a letter signed with initials which are unknown to me, in which the writer desires me to state my opinion as to the best mode of giving away large sums of money. My correspondent puts the case of persons who, from taste, live very much within their incomes, and who dispose of the surplus, to the amount of two or three thousand pounds a year, in the way of donation. The question is asked, whether it is better to distribute such large sums in small portions to the usual objects of bounty, or to select persons in respectable stations, with straitened means, and to place them above their difficulties. It is said that if large benefactions were secretly made to such persons as were personally known to the benefactors, an immense mass of good would be done; and that such unasked donations cause no humiliation, but on the contrary, are taken as a compliment. The writer adds, that the rich distributor would at the end of a series of years have the pleasure of contemplating an accumulation of benefits conferred on worthy persons.

To be a perpetual giver, and not to do more harm than good, is so difficult, as I believe to be next to impossible. Whoever gives often, and gives much, is sure to be found out, in spite of all attempts at secrecy; and the consequence is, that expectations are excited, and means resorted to, which are productive of a tone of dependence and sycophancy throughout the neighbourhood, or class, within the sphere of the bounty.

Great givers can scarcely avoid being imposed upon, and one example of success has something of the same effect that a prize in the lottery used to have. It may benefit one; though even that is not often so, but the fame of it unsettles many.

Giving in the usual way to what my correspondent calls pauper applicants and begging-letter impostors, is now generally admitted to be pernicious, though still much persisted in. But what makes pauper applicants and begging-letter impostors but giving? And what would be the consequence if such objects were rejected, and the sums distributed among them were confined to larger bounties to fewer persons? If it became a system, however specious in appearance, and beneficial in the outset, would it not infallibly become as poisonous as those it was designed to supplant? Would it not, in the end, infect a higher grade with all the symptoms and evils of pauperism?

Straitened circumstances, in all conditions, are, in almost all cases, attributable, more or less, to indolence, imprudence, or absolute extravagance. Where it is not so, it is the exception, and it is the ex-

ception only that is really deserving of encouragement. But there can be no system for the relief of exceptions. They are in their nature objects of casualty only. Then givers themselves are often too indolent to make sufficient inquiries, or to be great observers.

It is from indolence frequently that people are givers, instead of spenders of their money, and they will seldom take very much trouble either in giving or refusing. Large gifts have undoubtedly occasionally produced the happiest consequences, both on individuals and on whole families; but the question is, whether a system of bestowing surplus funds in large donations would be beneficial or not. I think the system would not be beneficial, because the difficulty and trouble of discrimination would be too great, and imposition and sycophancy would meet with more encouragement than merit; so that society would be a loser. I think occasional donations of large sums are to be recommended, but that no rule can be laid down. The question then arises, what the rich, who are liberally disposed, are to do with their surplus means.

In the first place, I believe that the man who spends his money well, does more good in the long run than he who gives it, and that there is no way of diffusing so much happiness as by the liberal employment of industry or genius. Those who have more money than they want, cannot, in my opinion, do better than bestow it in the promotion of public improvements; for then they not only benefit individuals of different classes, by affording them scope for their talents and employment for their industry, but the public is benefited also. A local improvement will frequently do more to promote the convenience and good morals of a community than anything that can be devised, and I sometimes wonder that the wealthy do not oftener turn their attention in that direction. Such a spirit generally adopted by individuals and by combinations of individuals, would soon produce a change for the better, both in town and country, and it is a species of liberality, in which there is no mixture of evil. For my own part, I have a particular pleasure in watching the progress of local improvements, and in the reflection that the benefits derived from them are of general diffusion. I have said that spending money well does more good than giving it. I shall in a future number consider to what extent the injunctions in the New Testament with respect to almsgiving are applicable to the present state of things in this country.

[I take note of these last words, relating to a number destined never to appear, and will finish this important section of "The Original," with the best substitute I can devise for what in the hands of the author himself must have proved eminently instructive.

But between his last written words, and this attempt I must inter-

pose two articles of his own, and a short series of essays intended to supplement what I deem wanting in this section.]

DERIVATION OF THE WORD "ALMS."

There is no word in the English language so much abbreviated from its original as the word "alms," from the Greek word ἐλεημοσύνη. Six syllables are contracted into one; thus, el-e-e-mos-u-ne—elmosune —elmosn (from which the French aumône), alms; in Italian limosina, from the same original. The practice amongst modern nations of appropriating different parts of words from the dead languages is by no means uncommon; as in the proper name Johannes, the English take the first part, John; and the Dutch the last, Hans. These instances of derivation made an impression upon me, because they were told me, when a boy, by the two greatest masters of their day in language; the first by Horne Tooke, the second by Porson; both of whom possessed the gratifying faculty of adapting their conversation to the young and the unlearned.

The word alms in the original signifies something given from the motive of pity; but however amiable the feeling, we should be careful not to indulge it idly and indiscriminately. It is often said, we ought to give for our own sakes, without inquiry; in my opinion a very unsound and selfish doctrine. It is difficult to bestow charity without doing more harm than good. We not only run the risk of paralyzing the moral energies of the immediate objects of our bounty, but of those who hope to become so. Giving with discretion is a great virtue; it is twice blessed, and the extent of its benefits can never be foreseen to either party.

A FEW SHILLINGS WELL LAID OUT.

The following narrative, the first part of which is true to the letter, illustrates the virtue of *giving* with discretion.

As the burly coachman of one of the northern stages was remounting his box one bleak November night at the door of a little inn noted for spiced ale—

"How much will you take me to London for?" said a thinly clad boy of about fourteen, in a soft and doubting tone. The coachman turned round, and with a look of contempt, slightly qualified by pity, growled out,

"Can't take you for less than half-a-crown."

"I have only a shilling left," said the boy.

"Why didn't you say so at first?" said the coachman, replacing his foot on the nave of the wheel. The boy retreated a step into the shade.

"Come, jump up, my lad," cried a gentleman on the coach; "I will find you eighteenpence."

"Are not you very cold?" said the gentleman, after a short interval.

"Not very," replied the boy, rubbing his hands cheerily up and down in the pockets of his cotton trousers. "Not very; I was thinking of London."

"And what are you going to do there?" said the gentleman. The boy replied that he was going to be bound apprentice to his uncle, who kept a cook's shop in the Borough. Then he told his own little history, and how he had travelled up one hundred and fifty miles with the few shillings his widowed mother had been able to muster for him; and he concluded with a very intelligent account of his native place, and a no less amusing one of the principal people in its neighbourhood.

"And what do you intend to do to-night?" said the gentleman.

"I shall go to my uncle's," replied the boy.

"But how will you find him out? We shall not arrive before midnight; besides, your uncle will be gone to bed. Come, I will give you five shillings, and you can stay comfortably at the inn till morning."

At the first appearance of lamps, the boy began to count them, and had just given up with the exclamation, "Well! if there are not more lamps in this one street than in all our town——" when the coachman called out to him—

"I say, young one, where are you going to put yourself to-night?"

"I shall stop where you stop," said the boy.

"But you've no money, you know."

"Ay," said the boy triumphantly, "but this gentleman will give me some."

"So much the better for you," said the coachman.

At the inn, the gentleman took the boy apart, and, putting five shillings into his hand, told him to get a comfortable supper, and a good night's rest, and not to let any one know how much money he had. "In the morning," continued he, "make yourself as decent as you can, and go to your uncle's with a shilling or two in your pocket. And now, my lad, I hope you will be steady and do well in the world; and, above all, I recommend you never to forget your poor mother." The boy was less profuse in his thanks than might have been expected.

"What is your business with me, young man," said Mr. B., as a decently dressed, smart youth of about seventeen was shown into his library.

"I am the boy, sir, you gave five shillings to on the coach, three years since, last November."

"What do you say?" said Mr. B.—"Oh! now I recollect the circumstance, though I do not recollect you; but what is your will with me, and how did you contrive to find me out?"

The youth told his story, interrupted by occasional questions from B., in nearly the following words:—

"When you gave me the money, sir, I felt more than I said. Your name I saw on your portmanteau, and I happened to hear your servant tell the hackney-coachman where to drive; so it came into my mind that I would never rest till I had shown you that I was not ungrateful. In a few days I came to look at your house. I owe you more than you think, sir. When I found my uncle, I will say he received me kindly enough; but he seemed to look upon me much more as soon as he heard how a gentleman like you had been pleased to stand my friend; and I do not think but I should have been a very different character to what I am, if I had not had the good fortune to see you. I should have come long ago, but I hope you will excuse me for saying I did not forget your advice not to neglect my mother. Now, however, she is so comfortably off, that she has sent me word I need trouble myself no further on her account. I hope, sir, you will not take it amiss—" (here he paused and blushed) "but why I have taken the liberty to come to-day is, my uncle at this time of the year makes a kind of large-seasoned pie, which is much thought of by the better sort of people in our neighbourhood. It will be nothing to a gentleman like you, I know; but if you will only allow me to bring you one—" said the youth in a supplicatory tone.

"Well," said Mr. B. with a smile, "as I clearly perceive it is a free offering on your part, I accept it willingly. Your gratitude does you great credit. Bring your pie as soon as you please, and let me see you again this day week, that I may tell you how I like it."

A day or two after, Mr. B. had a dinner-party, at which something occurred to induce him shortly to relate the boy's story. It drew forth various commendatory remarks, which were put an end to by the fashionable witling of the day expressing an affected curiosity just to see what it was "the better sort of people" in the Borough liked. He said he had rather a turn for that kind of thing, and had lately been reading some account of the manner of living in Madagascar. In consequence of this sally, it was resolved to have the pie introduced; when, contrary to all expectation, and after much grimace, it was ascertained to be a pie of real and original merit, and its history giving it an additional zest, it met with much applause. Mr. B.'s chief guest, a man of great patronage and intrigue, partly to introduce a

fling at the witling, whom he hated for a personal jest, and partly to please his host, whose interest he wanted, desired he might have one of the pies sent to his house; whereupon an expectant at the lower end of the table immediately protested his lordship, as usual, showed his taste, and begged to follow so high an authority. A baronet of pretence joined in the request, for the sake of a subject to dilate upon at his own table, and for an appropriate opportunity of signifying his acquaintance with a grandee of the first class. A wealthy member of the lower House, who had not spoken a word before, ventured to express a similar wish, simply because he was not willing to let the day pass without saying something. An indefatigable fashion-hunter, judging it a possible case of vogue, resolved not to be left behind; and, lastly an unprincipled wit modestly gave a double order, chuckling at the opportunity of getting a good thing he never meant to pay for.

The donor of the pie made his appearance at the appointed time, and his anxiety was changed into delight, when he found his present had given satisfaction to Mr. B.; but when he was informed of the whole of his success, he was all but overwhelmed. He hurried back to his uncle with the joyful news, and the worthy man of victuals, who had hitherto been kept in ignorance of his nephew's proceedings, no sooner recovered from his astonishment, than he confidently anticipated countless wealth and never-dying fame from the patronage of his distinguished customers. But, alas! he was unversed in the intricate and slippery ways of the world, and especially of that part of it which lies in the interior of great men's houses. He naturally concluded his pie had been sought for simply for its merits, and that consequently it would make its own way; and he honestly resolved it should continue to deserve its reputation. But his praiseworthy intentions were doomed to meet with no reward in the quarter he most calculated upon; and from the household ministers of the West, in the plenitude of their power, he experienced nothing but mortification and defeat. Every pie-purveyor's place was filled up, in possession and reversion, through interests and by means of which his simple soul never dreamed, and he not only never received a second order, but was unable to obtain payment for half the first. However, after all, the balance was greatly in his favour; for the first noise of his success prodigiously increased his custom amongst his plainer dealing neighbours, who considered it would be showing an unpardonable want of taste not to eat his pies even to surfeit.

But to return to the hero of the story, in whom Mr. B. began to take a permanent interest. Finding from examination that he had attended more to pie-making than to scholarship, he advised him to

devote his leisure time to attendance upon some competent master; "for," said he, "if you get on in the world, which you seem well qualified to do, you will find the want of suitable acquirements a constant hindrance and mortification. Lose no time in beginning, and I will charge myself with the expense."

With such encouragement it is not to be wondered at that the scholar soon came to write a beautiful hand, and to be more than commonly expert in accounts, by which means he was enabled greatly to assist his less learned uncle, who, in return, made him first his partner, and finally his heir; and to his benefactor, who happened to possess a neglected property in the vicinity of his residence, he was fortunate enough, by his local knowledge and zealous superintendence, to render the most important services.

[MENDICANT-THIEVES.]

The author of "The Original," had he lived to resume his literary labours, would certainly have added many an instructive essay to those by which he had already thrown so much light on the degraded classes of the population, and the causes which had gradually called them into existence. What I think he would have done, I now try to do in the short essays that follow.

I begin by quoting (with slight alterations) some part of what I wrote respecting thieves in 1848:—

"I have a theory, to which I attach some importance, that in a large number of instances the trade of the thief would not pay unless it were combined with that of the beggar. In the person of the vagrant-beggar, or tramp, the two callings are notoriously combined, as the farmer knows to his cost. If I am right, it must follow that the patron of beggars is unconsciously the friend of thieves. The two haunt or inhabit the same districts in our large towns; if they are not always the same persons, they are found herding together under the same roof. What a system of mutual instruction! What an interchange of experiences! What pleasant ridicule of the genus Verisopht! What outpourings of the gratitude so bitterly defined as the expectation of favours to come! . . . . Doubtless there is in begging and thieving much of broad farce and low comedy; but there is also an element of the tragic which it is not safe for a nation to overlook or disregard. In the shocking brutality which figures almost daily before our magistrates—in the murderous onslaughts on the police, and in the desperate acts of resistance to authority—the sturdy beggar emulates the thief. Not many months since, for instance, a policeman, who was taking into custody a beggar, fresh from the neighbourhood of Red

Lion Square, was set upon by the combined forces of Church Lane, St. Giles', and murdered on the spot. Were the almsgivers of Great Russell Street and parts adjacent innocent of the blood of that man? And what would have been the history of the 10th of April, if the physical force men had got the upper hand only for a moment? The beggars and thieves of the metropolis would have rushed by thousands to the fight, and celebrated their drunken orgies by the flames of a burning city. Had the riot grown to the huge dimensions of a revolution, the men and women whose thoughtless and ill-judged liberality had called the race of beggars into existence, might have expiated their misdeeds in blood, or have been doomed to mourn over the destruction and confiscation of the property of which they had been such careless and unjust stewards."

Of the soundness of the theory thus propounded in 1848 I have since had the best opportunities of convincing myself. The mendicant-thief is a real personage invested with certain most inconvenient and dangerous attributes, which it behoves all men of sense to understand and take to heart.

Stand forth, then, Convict Simon Sharpe, half-knave, half-fool,—perfect specimen of the shrewd half-witted class of which one-twentieth or so of all our criminals consists; already imprisoned about a score of times for minor offences, and half a dozen times for more serious ones; how often richly meriting what he did not get, Heaven only knows. Do you know, Simon Sharpe, what a "Back-door cant means?" Back-door cant? Yes, to be sure. Hanging about the back-doors of country houses, and begging. That's your line? Yes. What do you do when there is nobody in the way? Oh! I steals. What shall you do when you get your liberty? Oh! I shall steal again.

Exactly so. Simon Sharpe will beg when he must, and steal when he can: and Simon Sharpe, and such as he, will flourish in the land till we summon up the courage and wisdom to address him somewhat after this fashion. Friend Sharpe, you are either an imbecile or an incorrigible scoundrel. We cannot afford to have you running loose about the country any longer. You have been several times in prison already, and now we must shut you up for life, and set you to work If you are an incorrigible scoundrel, Simon Sharpe, you will be fed, clothed, and housed, and, if you will not work, will be punished as you deserve. But if the Doctors say that you are not in your right mind, your proper place is a lunatic asylum, where you will be most kindly treated, with a concert once a week, and sundry other amusements. In no case, however, can we afford to let you out again among your respectable fellow imbeciles, the indiscriminate almsgivers. Indeed we cannot afford it.

And now stand forth, Charles Stanley, worthy ex-warder of a certain Convict Establishment. "Stanley, do you ever see your old acquaintances now?" "Yes, often. They come to beg of the head of our firm." "What! the worst of them; the long-sentence men?" "Yes, sir, the very worst; burglars, and such like." "Ah! I see. They come to reconnoitre the premises—to beg if they must, and steal if they can. The old story, hey?" "Yes, sir."

And now let us shift the scene from town to country. David Dodd is an Inspector of Police; has risen from the ranks through merit; is a shrewd, intelligent observer of men and things. We will walk together. I open the conversation by asking him what slang phrases prevail in those parts. Do the mendicant-thieves, as in London, call dole-givers *Soft Tommies;* do they speak of dole-giving as "*tumbling*?" He has not heard the phrase *Soft Tommy*, but when one beggar speaks to another of some one who could not be got to give, he says "*he would not tumble to me.*" But what do they call the dole-givers in these parts? They call them *Dozeys.* Of course you meet with a good many weak-minded folk wandering about the country. What is the slang term for these people? Oh! they call them *half-sharps.* What an expressive phrase! But they don't call them all by this name, do they? What do they call the weakest among them—those that are little better than idiots? Why, they call them *dozeys* too. How very odd! Then the mendicant-thief class look down with scorn on dole-givers, speak of them with contempt, and class them with the weakest vessels of the imbecile population? Yes, sir, it is so. And then the worthy inspector, seeing that I knew something about these matters already, entertained me with stories which I have no time to tell, and recurring to the first part of our conversation, told me, good honest man that he is, that he is always trying to persuade the gentry, clergy, and others whom it concerns, not to give to beggars, assuring them that but for dole-giving there could be no crime.

I do assure you, patrons of the mendicant-thief, that the foregoing is a real dialogue. It is no hostile invention, but a true narrative, written with a view to your conversion; as much in sorrow that the wretches whom you tempt and maintain by your doles should repay you with contempt and derision, as in anger that you should bring this great evil upon your unoffending neighbours.

By the bye, there is one part of this dialogue that I had forgotten for the moment. I asked the worthy inspector whether he could confirm from his own experience what I had seen stated by more than one witness before the Charity Commission of 1815, that all beggars are also thieves. His reply was, "They will all thieve if they get a chance."

The fact is that, as I have lately had occasion to state more than

once, the act of begging is at the same time an act of reconnoitering. The crossing-sweeper, the ragged boy that haunts the pastry-cook's window, the obsequious gentleman who bows at your carriage door, the hawker of matches and flowers—all these are reconnoiterers of the person; just as the impertinent folk that contrive to enter our houses on all sorts of false pretences, and those addicted to the *back-door cant* (for this is one of the expressive epithets of the mendicant-thief community), and who hang about the back doors of houses in the rural districts and half rural suburbs of our large towns, are reconnoiterers of our premises, starving beggars if seen, adroit thieves if not.

These are no random statements: I could confirm each of them by a case in point; and I remind the reader by way of adding weight to what I have just been saying, that the man who at night broke into the house of the clergyman at Frimley and murdered him, was seen begging about the village in the morning.

I do not say that there are not beggars who need not add to their means by thieving, and no thieves who can dispense with begging; but I affirm without fear of contradiction that, in the vast majority of cases the two trades go hand in hand together; and I ask the friends, allies, and patrons of all the vices and crimes, how many of these mendicant-thieves is it their pleasure to maintain in this civilized and Christian country? And you, who call yourselves statesmen, tell us, if you please, how many times these gentry shall offend against the law, and plunder honest folk, and be let loose again? Is there to be no limit to your forbearance, no end to our losses?

[CROSSING SWEEPERS.]

The crossing sweeper is a beggar with a broom in his hand; and he is the best representative of the class that makes a show of a willingness to work. Some work he certainly does on the days when our crossings want sweeping; but a whole day's labour, including what is technically called "shutting up shop," would not fetch in the market a poor farthing. And yet, as everybody knows, a crossing in a crowded thoroughfare is a most lucrative investment. The bustling activity that heralds the approach of a gentleman with clean boots, or a lady with long flounces, is most handsomely paid for; and the man, whose only capital in trade is a broom and a bundle of rags, if of an economical turn, may look forward with the utmost confidence to a handsome fortune as the reward of his public services.

I feel a sort of compunction when I think of the serious injury the study of ethnology must sustain by the displacement of the dark gentlemen in white garments who condescend to exhibit themselves in the

neighbourhood of the clubs, refreshing us with the anomalous spectacle of a clean beggar. Some such feeling of regret seizes me when I think of the time, perhaps not distant, when Art will lose one of its most effective contrasts by the passing away of rags as indications of poverty. As for the Irish boys, they are wanted at school, and will get there if the dole-givers will leave them alone; and the women are in request at home, where there is much work for the needle and scrubbing-brush.

But the crossing-sweeper is much too important a personage to be dismissed with this short notice. A student of this odd product of civic negligence will recognise two species at least—a passive and an active—of which the former plants itself at the shorter and less frequented crossings, and the latter leads a bustling life on the longer and busier ones; nor will he overlook the interesting family groups that reap a Sunday harvest in the neighbourhood of our churches.

Let us take, as a fair specimen, a crossing-sweeper of the second order. He is an active young man, ragged and shoeless, with a broom for his whole stock-in-trade. He is self-appointed, attends when he pleases, being guided much more by his own caprice than by the requirements of the public, having a decided objection to very bad weather, and by dint of immense activity and importunity, and no little obstruction, levies his black mail. The actual needful work he does, even in the worst weather would be overpaid by a halfpenny, but his income may be guessed at from 100*l.* to 250*l.* a year. Many people are weak enough to drop silver pieces into his hand, and dole-givers of the least culpable order find in his show of work an excuse for giving to him what they rightly refuse to the beggar pure and unmixed. The legislature seems to have felt the folly of this procedure when, in the Metropolis Local Management Act, they empowered the local authorities to have our crossings swept by honest hired labour. This, of course, they have not done.* The sooner they are relieved of the responsibility the better.

What ought to be done is quite obvious. A stout lad, or a man with one arm or one leg, might have placed under his charge a hundred crossings in a line of thoroughfare, or in a small district consisting of a square with its tributary streets. A farthing a crossing, two shillings and a penny a day, or twelve and sixpence a week, with some simple uniform, would be sufficient pay. In foul weather, they would have to move from crossing to crossing several times a day; in fine weather one round would suffice; and on these days they should be mustered for education, drill, or other work. If a lad kept his place,

* [I have been told of one honourable exception somewhere in South London.]

grew to be a man, gave satisfaction, and showed ability, he might be drafted into the Police force, or into the army. The wide area of London would need a small regiment of such lads, who might thus be exercised, drilled, instructed, educated, promoted, and provided for. A central organization would be required, and this the police authorities, or the Metropolitan Board of Works, might be required to supply.

[HAWKERS AND COSTERMONGERS]

The girl who entreats us to buy a flower or a box of matches, to snatch her from starvation, is not less a beggar than the wretch who sits silent on a doorstep, huddled up in filthy rags, stands shivering or trembling at the corner of a street, or wends his way on crutches along a crowded thoroughfare. Nor does the young man from the country, greedy of work if he could but get it, who can produce his cheap hawker's licence, become less culpable through this small contribution to the revenue. It is to be regretted that a beggar should be able to arm himself with a plausible excuse at so small a price; but these people have a strange knack of turning every slip of our Chancellors of the Exchequer to their own advantage. Witness the strange revelations made to the Select Committee of 1821 on Vagrants, when "passes" were in use, and the mendicant-thieves turned them so deftly to account as not only to move from place to place at the expense of the rate-payer, but to convert the constables of that day into travelling companions. Matters were so skilfully managed that the county reward of 10*s.* became the means of converting "the apprehension of vagrants into a regular trade, so disgraceful in all its branches," that respectable constables shrank from interference, but others made a regular trade of enticing the vagrants into their districts, and bribing them with half the reward for allowing themselves to be apprehended.

Cheap hawkers' licences may perhaps serve some useful purpose of identification, but the mendicant-thief community must have strangely degenerated since 1821, if they do not contrive to turn them to account. If we would avoid being their dupes, we have only to adopt the very simple expedient of neither giving nor buying in the streets. A like abstinence from the purchase of cheap newspapers would tend to clear our crowded London thoroughfares of a very undesirable part of our population; and if the inhabitants and frequenters of the city could be got to exercise the same self-control, we might hope in time to see the dense crowds of vehicles relieved from the intrusion of costermonger's trucks, and the pavements of Cheap Jacks, and vendors of flowers and fruit. How much better in every way this masterly inac-

tivity on the part of individuals, than civic regulations, with their attendant risks!

The Lord of Misrule, who used of old to preside over Christmas Gambols, but now asserts his dominion over the metropolis, is after all but a bloated monster stuffed with misspent coin, built up of doles and small purchases.

[MENDICANT-MUSICIANS.]

A physician, who for many years had had painful experience of Street Music, both in his consulting-room and in the sick rooms of his patients, coupled with a like experience of the trouble entailed by every attempt to bring the law to bear upon the case, moved me to put together a few facts and thoughts upon the subject, in the shape of a cheap tract,* from which, following the example of the author of "The Original," I shall proceed to make sundry extracts, with slight curtailments and alterations.

"It is difficult to touch the hard heart, stir the stagnant fancy, or convince the perverse intellect of an indiscriminate almsgiver. Tell him that he is guilty of gross cruelty in tempting idle people into a life of infamy, and supporting them in it,—he don't care, it pleases him to give. Picture to him the vicious life of the beggar, his pretty certain development into a thief, and the losses and sufferings he inflicts on innocent people: he cannot see it, he does not realize it. Reason with him on the meanness of tempting others to break the law, and the hollowness of the very best of the many bad excuses for giving, that the beggar *might possibly starve:* he is not to be convinced; he *will* give, and nobody *shall* prevent him.

"But even indiscriminate almsgivers, selfish, unimaginative, perverse as they are, may be made to understand, realize, and feel for some of the obvious miseries inflicted by those who force noises, more or less musical, on unwilling ears. They who cannot bear the sight of naked feet and tattered clothes, or resist the whine of the sturdy beggar, must have some fellow-feeling for the nervous and irritable, the sick and dying, on whom the barrel-organ or brass band may inflict a pang or mortal injury for which the amusement of scores of healthy people is no sort of compensation. They may not be able to sympathize with the author in his study, the calculator in his intellectual workshop, the artist in his studio, the doctor in his consulting-room, the family at their devotions; but can they resist the plea of the helpless victim of

* ["The Nuisance of Street Music, or the Case of the Sick, the Sensitive, and the Studious." By a London Physician. Sold by the Publisher of this work, price 1*d.*]

fever, neuralgia, or nervous disorder? Let us try the effect of one or two cases:—

"1. An hospital is skirted by a narrow lane densely peopled by a low population, with a large Irish and criminal element. In one of its wards a patient with *delirium tremens* has just fallen into his first sleep —a sleep which is in itself a cure—when a barrel-organ strikes up one of its loudest tunes. The ragged urchins in the filthy lane are dancing with delight; but the poor scared patient is rushing wildly down the street.

"2. A learned lawyer, ill and irritable, is tortured by a brass band. He sends his man-servant in all haste to stop the noise; the bandmaster refuses, alleging that the people next door have given him a shilling. The doctor, who happens to be at the patient's bedside, is earnestly entreated to interfere. The bandmaster still refuses, and, as soon as a policeman can be found, is given into custody. At the police court the ruffian escapes with a reprimand, because, forsooth, the physician was not the 'servant' of the sufferer.

"3. In a respectable narrow street, leading out of Queen Square, a young man, a clerk, lies ill of brain disease, quite sensible but acutely sensitive. His wife and doctor are at his bedside. It is a hot day in summer, and the window is wide open. Suddenly a loud barrel-organ strikes up at the very door of the house. The poor fellow utters a loud cry, and is seized with a sharp spasm which literally jerks him off his bed. The poor wife gathers the first money that comes to hand, and throws it out of window; the doctor rushes down stairs, and motions the wretch away. The patient did not long survive this cruel torture.

"4. It is no aristocrat, no rich man in a lordly mansion, but a worthy shoemaker, plying his honest calling in a narrow street, whose sick child has just fallen asleep. A barrel-organ strikes up under his window. He rushes out to stop the noise. A neighbour insists that it shall go on. He will not have the foreigner interfered with!

"The second and third examples are from the writer's own experience—the first and fourth within his knowledge. The medical men of London, or of any large town, could fill volumes with such cases.

"The people who bribe these pests of the sick chamber may not, as we have just remarked, have any sympathy with the author, the calculator, the artist, the consulting physician, the teacher or the scholar, or the family at its devotions. The author and the artist, with ears for music and nerves finely strung, must restrain themselves and learn to bear it; the calculator must do the same; the physician must send his servant to stop the noise whenever it grows intolerable

to his patients or himself; and *pater-familias* must raise his voice, and consent to read the Lord's prayer with such incongruous accompaniment as the street affords. But whatever these worthy householders may have to endure, be their sufferings great or small, one person at least shall not be called upon to exercise the slightest restraint or self-control—the strong, healthy giver, happy in the possession of a dull ear, nerves coarsely strung, and ideas and sympathies to match.

"We had forgotten to mention as occasional incidents of barrel-organs and brass-bands, horses frightened, and men and women dashed to death, or mutilated for life. But these events occur so rarely as to be quite beneath the notice of such happily organized persons.

"But, it may be asked, how happens it that such a nuisance as this has not been made the subject of efficient legislation? We answer—an appeal was made to the House of Lords only a few years since, but in vain. We have before us a report of this appeal, and of the speeches it provoked. The *Marquis of Westmeath* moved the second reading of a bill directed against barrel-organs; and, in doing so, pointed out that the street musicians of London were chiefly foreigners, to whose convenience and profit the peace and tranquillity of the metropolis ought not to be sacrificed; adding that this never-ceasing nuisance was an object of universal detestation. The *Earl of Wilton* opposed the second reading, alleging that barrel-organs were not worse than Punch, and that their music afforded an agreeable relief from the monotonous sound of carts and carriages. *Lord Lyndhurst*, reproving the over-zeal and too much warmth of Lord Westmeath, treated the house to a hypothetical case of a musical barrister blowing a few notes on a flute within ten or fifteen miles of London, being brought before a magistrate as an idle and disorderly person, and sentenced to a month's imprisonment with hard labour. Then, following up this objection with one equally applicable, he instanced the bands in the parks and those of the city companies (to which we should now have to add those of the volunteers) as being threatened by the bill. Then as to Punch, did not the other House, when street-nuisances were under discussion, decide by universal acclamations that he should not be interfered with?—but this bill would silence his Pan-pipes. The inhabitants of a mews behind his lordship's residence, at what he supposed their dinner hour, were entertained by music which they, of course, paid for. Were these persons to be deprived of their pastime? His lordship then (with Mr. Babbage evidently in his eye) told how, when he was a young man, he schooled himself to bear the scraping of a violin in the next house, finding the effort an admirable discipline in pursuing his mathematical studies; and he finished his speech with the case of a woman who, in the short space of a week, ceased to

notice the clang of the hammer and bellows of her neighbour the blacksmith, which at first grievously annoyed her. *Earl Granville* agreed with every word that had fallen from the noble and learned lord; objecting to indulge some rich sensitive connoisseur at the expense of a whole neighbourhood of poor people revelling in the pleasure of a barrel-organ; and alleging that if any serious annoyance were created by itinerant musicians, the police act provided a sufficient remedy! *Viscount Dungannon* could not see why persons who liked street bands should no tbe gratified; *Lord Campbell* was opposed to any *organic* change; and the *Earl of Derby* was of the same mind.

"The second reading of Lord Westmeath's Bill was accordingly negatived without a division; and the cause of the sick, the sensitive, the busy, the preoccupied, was sacrificed to the hypothetical majority inhabiting poor neighbourhoods.

"Now it is passing strange that throughout this discussion, as reported in the *Times*, not one word is said about the sick. Their lordships seem to have quite overlooked or ignored the fact that, even among the poor, the special objects of their patronage, there is such a thing as sickness; aye, and of exquisite sensitiveness to loud noises, even though they take the shape of music, or what passes as such. The next time the matter is brought under their lordships' notice, it is to be hoped that they will show themselves better informed, and less easily amused; and will understand that if a sacrifice is to be demanded of any one, it is to be expected from the healthy and vigorous, not from the sick and ailing. Possibly the following considerations may have some effect on their lordships.

1. There are always great numbers, both of rich and poor, who are sick and suffering, and subject to acute torture from street music; these noises often burst upon them suddenly; there is not always a servant at hand to warn the offender, and very rarely a policeman to apprehend him; the warning (especially when given by a woman servant) may be disregarded; and the punishment is uncertain.

2. There are numbers of persons whose occupations are continuously and most seriously interrupted and disturbed by these noises, and others who are occasionally subject to most serious inconvenience.

3. Persons of all ages congregated for education, discussion, or devotion, are often subject to most unseemly interruptions.

4. Horses have been frightened, and fatal accidents brought about, by these noises.

5. The men and boys employed as street musicians are imported as a commercial speculation; and consequently we feed and support by money which could hardly be worse spent, a very large number of the imbecile and half-witted inhabitants of some of the most degraded dis-

tricts of Italy, Switzerland, and France. This importation from abroad is nearly limited to males, who intermarry with English and Irish women of the same low type, and become the fathers of a very degraded section of our *Classes dangereuses.*

6. These street musicians, with a cunning which is part of the very nature of persons so degraded, know how to make the most of opportunities. They will follow a doctor's carriage, for instance, to the door of a patient, knowing that they are much more likely to be bought off than to be sent away empty handed.

What the House of Lords may do should this very serious subject be again brought under its notice, I cannot undertake to say; but it will not be the fault of the present writer if their lordships again overlook the existence of sick and sensitive people, or misrepresent the powers of the existing laws, which at the best afford an uncertain remedy for a mischief which is done at the first outbreak of the organ, the first burst of the brass band. As for the public, whether rich or poor, it ought to be sufficient to remind them that this is pre-eminently a grievance for which the appropriate remedy is TOTAL ABSTINENCE FROM GIVING.

To Earl Granville, who alleged the sufficiency of the police regulations to grapple with this case of street-music, it must suffice to recommend a study of the Police Act for further improving the Police in and near the Metropolis (2nd and 3rd Victoria, cap. xlvii.); especially its 54th section.

To persons who, like the heartless neighbour of the poor shoemaker whose case I have given above, incite organ-grinders to persecute sick children and their parents, or to those who may be smarting under the strong language of this essay, I commend the plain speaking and convenient remedy of a worthy police magistrate. The words are part of a longer extract from the *Illustrated London News*, of October 31, 1868:—"Mr. Selfe has just stated from the bench, that any person who incites an 'Italian fiend' to go on playing, after he has been ordered off, is liable to the same penalty as the player." I hope that Mr. Selfe will have an early opportunity of enforcing this decree.

[VAGRANTS.]

Vagrants are beggars on their travels, for whom the dole-giver and the State vie with each other in providing food and lodging. They number about 36,000,* and form an army of occupation, quartered on

* [36,196, in 1868, having been 32,528 only two years before, according to Lord Kimberley's statement in the House of Lords.]

the towns and rural districts of England, recruited and maintained by a system of bounties; ill-disciplined, but not without organization; levying heavy contributions on rich and poor alike; a terror and a scourge to the public, a reproach and disgrace to the government. It is their policy to keep themselves as destitute of shelter as of clothing, and they obey the letter of the command, to take no heed for the morrow, in the spirit of the evil one. For these creatures, who will not have households of their own, who have but one object in all their wicked and perverse lives—to exist without work at the expense of their industrious neighbours—we are taxed to provide board and lodging. The union is their hotel when young, and their almshouse when old. They move about begging and pilfering, till they grow old and rheumatic, and so come to prefer to the assaults of the elements, the restraints of those last resorts of all that is vicious and depraved, the union workhouses.

Ignorant folk imagine that these vagrants are poor people, or at any rate, that there is an element of poverty to be found blended with the mass so as to render a costly provision for them expedient and even necessary; but this, I am convinced, is a mistake. There is no appreciable element of honest poverty, or of penniless industry seeking work, to be found in all these 36,000. The *bonâ fide* searcher after work without money in his pocket is as rare a phenomenon as a comet or a black swan; and the London artisan, on the tramp in the summer season, is provided for in more ways than one. There may be here and there a Cobbett, arriving at his destination with threepence in his pocket, preferring Swift's "Tale of a Tub" to a supper, and sleeping under a hayrick. But these are eccentricities for which governments are not wont to make provision. That the element of real poverty is a very scanty one we learn from trustworthy official reports. Such a report was made to the Guardians of the Whitechapel Union, on the 2nd March, 1869; and it was to the effect that of sixty vagrants "one only could definitely and clearly state that he was a wayfarer passing through London in a direct route to a specific destination," while Mr. Superintendent Williamson's "Report upon the Casual Poor," shows us that among fifty casuals who were interrogated, one only was believed to come under the designation of a "Poor Man;" and he excited much surprise and merriment among the professionals. It is high time that such facts as these were known and appreciated. We have been quite long enough cajoled by mere shows of poverty, of which the reality could not exist in this, the richest nation in the world, if the State would only leave men alone.

Mendicants and mendicant thieves then are artificial products, of which vagrants are but the wandering elements; so that what is true

of the whole is true also of this migratory section of it. The whole community, without exception, has deliberately chosen the basest occupation a human being can follow, that of living day by day, hour by hour, on lies spoken or acted, on false pretences of want, and equally false pretences of willingness to labour and inability to procure work. For wretches so depraved and abandoned no act is too cruel, no crime too atrocious. The mendicant woman who stole children and put their eyes out to excite compassion, and the men who commit murder on the slightest provocation, have but touched the highest points in the graduated scale of fraud and violence, which rises from simple mendicancy and petty pilfering up to the worst offences known to the law.

Vagrancy assumes many forms. There are vagrant families, vagrant single men and single women, vagrant musicians, vagrants who profess starvation and a craving for work, vagrants who emulate the example of the mendicants of large towns by the variety and ingenuity of their pretences. But there is this difference between the stationary and the migratory class. The beggar who plies his trade in the large town may plant himself on his vantage ground with his back to the wall, at a crossing broom in hand, seated on a door-step, or crouched on the pavement beside a chalk drawing hired for the day; and he knows that the passers-by will richly reward his patience; or he may move about leisurely from street to street, with the well-founded faith that if he goes through only sixty streets a day, there is, on the average, folly enough in each street to furnish him with at least a penny, being five shillings a day, or thirty shillings a week. But that a vagrant may get together his five shillings a day, or whatever sum he deems a due reward for his exertions, he must visit many detached houses, and present at each the same harrowing picture of itinerant starvation, the same embodiment of the greatest of all hardships—the man who would work if he could only get work to do. As he moves from place to place, not without aid from rude maps, useful hints, and instructive hieroglyphics, he is exposed to temptations from which the town mendicant is free. The number and wealth of the civic population ensure him a livelihood without the trouble and risk of stealing: not so with the more scattered populations of the rural districts. The vagrant, as he tramps along, comes across infirm old men and timid women, who dare not refuse him an alms; and when he presents himself at the door of the small country house, or larger establishment during the afternoon drive, he very likely finds it equally unprotected.

Sometimes (especially in harvest) the labourer's cottage is locked up, and not rarely on Sundays respectable houses are left unguarded: and here let it be noted that the vagrant, like grim death himself, is

no respecter of persons; but visits, with perfect impartiality, the palace and the hovel. Then there are fields, gardens, and orchards quite unprotected; and poultry-yards, tool-houses, and coal-sheds only too easy of access; and near and around the back doors of houses there are many portable things, such as linen fresh from the wash. The barn, corn-stack, and hay-rick are also temptingly exposed, and but too suggestive of the worst use of lucifer matches. These unprotected persons, all this exposed property, are so many irresistible temptations to the degraded vagrant class, which naturally gets divided into two leading groups, a smaller one that lives by intimidation, a larger one that lives by theft. The first group (the valiant or sturdy beggars of our ancestors) we may call *bullies* or *itinerant roughs*; to the second we can give no fitter name than that they give themselves—professors of the "*back-door cant.*" The *rough* lives by threats, spoken or implied, and reconnoitering as he moves along, plans burglaries and cattle-stealings, or joins himself to groups of men bent on poaching expeditions or acts of associated violence. The professor of the *back-door cant* haunts the back-doors of houses, a beggar if seen, a thief if not. He too reconnoiters, learns how the land lies, and acts accordingly. Vagrant musicians and showmen, the shipwrecked who have lost their way, men and women who live by petitions, or by offering worthless articles for sale at fancy prices, colliers presenting lumps of coal, soldiers and sailors (self-mutilated, perhaps, in prison), innocent of war, and ignorant of tempests:—these, and others too numerous to mention, make up the motley horde of mendicant-thieves.

Of that dangerous element of the vagrant community known among their fellows by the expressive slang epithets *half-sharps* and *dozeys*, or as we should call them cunning fools and simple imbeciles, the one displaying folly in every act, the other both in word and deed, something has already been said at pages 225 and 240. Suffice it here to repeat that to these two sections of the vagrant class, we owe a large proportion of all acts of incendiarism, and of all the mischievous, cruel, and disgraceful deeds that plague, horrify, and disgust us. Some of these people are the children of weak-minded parents imported from Italy, Switzerland, and France, as wandering musicians; some are attracted from Scotland and Ireland; some again are of home growth, the offspring of parents in the rural districts, who, having had their own faculties but little stimulated or developed by education, are the tenants of squalid and overcrowded hovels, well known as the nurseries of stunted bodies and weak minds.

The imbeciles from these three sources form a very numerous body, as we may infer from the fact that the pauper population of England

and Wales comprises upwards of 10,000 persons described as idiots, in addition to many more than 30,000 known as lunatics; and that our convict prisons alone in 1869 contained 140 weak-minded prisoners, in addition to 63 epileptics, and 25 others belonging probably to the class of *half-sharps*.

If we bear these facts in mind, we must see how heavy a burden is inflicted on the landed interest by suffering these people to remain at large, and what importance attaches to the recommendations given at page 224. These facts, again, render perfectly intelligible a statement made to me by the finest specimen of an English yeoman I ever saw, that he dared not refuse to give to beggars. It was not of the itinerant rough, or the sane professor of the *back-door cant* that he was afraid, but of the *half-sharps* and *dozeys*, the fire raisers and cattle stealers *par excellence*—the men of irritable tempers and excitable passions, without feeling, reason, or conscience to restrain them. It is true that this terror-stricken yeoman had the misfortune to live in the next parish to a wealthy and most pious clergyman; who, during a long life, had turned a continuous stream of mendicancy through the neighbourhood by the lavish distribution of doles.

Vagrancy has engaged the attention of the Legislature almost time out of mind; certainly as far back as two centuries prior to the Reformation. For about five centuries and a half the State has been waging an active but ignominious warfare, not crowned by a single victory, against vagrancy and its allied and associated evils. With two notable and commendable exceptions,—a statute of 1360, entitled "Not to give Alms to Beggars able to Labour," and another of 1504, entitled, "Punishment of Vagabonds and those that relieve them," this State warfare was always directed against the least guilty of the parties concerned. The exceptions in question show that our remote ancestors had a sense of justice and fair dealing, which may well put us to shame.

The select committee to whose Report of 1821 I am indebted for these particulars (to which, as well as to a paper of mine read at a Meeting of the Social Science Association, March 23, 1871, the reader is referred) directed its attention chiefly to the operation of certain Acts of Parliament which aimed at passing vagrants to their legal places of settlement. These Acts remind me irresistibly of a crazy friend of mine, who thought to purify a certain village near Cambridge by supplying its offending inhabitants with a sum of money, in exchange for a written undertaking that they would remove themselves to a distant spot of their own choosing, and there remain. How many of them went away, and how many came back it is easy to imagine. Now the Acts of Parliament then in force were conceived

in the same crazy spirit. They provided the vagrant with an escort to his place of settlement, but did not provide for his retention there; and as they stimulated his apprehension by rewards of 5*s.* and 10*s.*, and made handsome provision for the expenses of the journey, the consequences may be easily imagined. The vagrant was "enabled to migrate at the expense of the public," and could take a pleasure trip to any part of the kingdom he preferred. If he wanted to change company or vary his route, there was nothing to hinder him. He had his summer and winter haunts, to which he repaired at stated periods; and would remark naturally enough "Why should I work for 1*s.* or 1*s.* 6*d.* day, while I can be amused with seeing and laughing at the labours of others." To such a depth of degradation can foolish laws, conspiring with vicious habits, sink the man who, if simply left alone by all the parties to his debasement, might prove an industrious and respectable member of society.

The reader will find some numerical details of the results of this sort of legislation in the publications just referred to. But of all our legislative attempts, almost without exception, it may be said that if their object had been to afflict and discourage the honest and virtuous poor and to patronize and encourage the dishonest and depraved destitute, and to convert England by every conceivable blunder of patronage and interference into what I have ventured to call her, "*The Paradise of the Destitute; the Purgatory of the Poor*," they would have proved eminently successful. Is it not, I ask, the simple unexaggerated truth that, from the time of Elizabeth to the present day, the State has been busy confounding the cases of these widely-contrasted classes, bringing them into unnatural and disastrous contact through the operation of the Poor Law, binding them into sheaves together, good wheat with tares and poisonous weeds, to the grief of all good men, and the surprise of all wise ones?

If now we address ourselves to the remedies for this grievous state of things, we must begin by taking into account the mendicancy of which vagrancy is but a variety, the elements of brute force, fraud, and imbecility of which the compound vagrancy is made up, the poverty for which it is so oddly mistaken, the pauperism with which it is so strangely blended, the crimes with which it is associated, and the vicious habits in which it takes its rise. In any scheme of reform, then, we should have to deal with our Police System as it affects mendicancy; with our legal punishments as they relate to certain crimes; with our provisions for the safe custody of a large section of the insane; with our Poor Law system, as bringing into close and unseemly contact honest poverty and criminal destitution; and with the vicious habit of dole-giving, as the prime source of the

whole evil of mendicancy. Other sources of mischief lie, so to speak, further back in the chain of cause and effect; such as gluttony and intemperance, the speculative and gambling spirit, the respect paid to lavish expenditure, even when tainted with dishonesty, and the unconcealed contempt for thrift, even when prompted by the highest motives, which mark the English character; nor must we forget those material springs and sources of mischief, the squalid dwelling, the glittering gin-shop, the attractive place of immoral entertainment.

But first and foremost, the most prolific root of all this bitterness, stands that mean and slovenly, disloyal and pernicious vice (for such I have not hesitated to call it), variously characterized as *indiscriminate almsgiving, indiscriminate, promiscuous, or bastard charity, and dole-giving;* the standing temptation and main support of the mendicant and vagrant community. It is this pernicious practice that attracts the imbecile populations of foreign and home growth, and the less insane people who have an innate indisposition to work, an innate fondness for a roving and reckless life; and it is the experience of it that supports all these people, and keeps them idle. It is this vice that our ancestors branded and punished, and which we shall have to treat after the same fashion if we are to achieve any quick success in our conflict with vagrancy.

I am aware of all the objections advanced against this, or any other suggestion that strikes at the root of great parent vices; but it may safely be affirmed that the most common consistency, the most elementary principles of fair dealing as between man and man, demand that, if the mendicant is punished for begging, the dole-giver ought to be punished too for tempting, bribing, and supporting him. A short enactment inflicting a heavy fine on any man or woman, or on any adult person using a child as agent, who should be proved to have given money or money's worth, to any person of whom said giver knew nothing but that he asked for it, would do great good, if only as an authoritative declaration of the mind of the State in this matter.

Meanwhile, let all men who have any sense or virtue in them combine to denounce this indiscriminate giving of alms, to strip it bare of its hypocritical pretences, to exhibit it before the public in all its naked deformity; parent as it is of every nauseous vice, and every revolting crime. Something has been done to discredit it by showing that the shrewd people whom the dole-giver tempts encourages and supports, load him with opprobrious and contemptuous epithets, curiously descriptive of folly and imbecility.

Of the steps necessary to be taken for gathering the imbecile section of our vagrants into asylums, and of certain reforms urgently needed in our Poor Law system, I have already treated at page 223. What might be done by the Home Office and Local Government Board to

promote this great reform may be inferred from a consideration of the obvious facts of the case, coupled with the sensible recommendations of the Vagrancy Committee of 1821.

The first fact to bear in mind is that there is nothing local or parochial about Vagrancy. The vagrant has no attachment to place. He haunts London and the large towns when they are fullest, and migrates to the seaside and rural districts in company with his patrons. Common sense, then, suggests a central authority and organization as the only one that can deal with the case effectually; and such an authority the Vagrancy Committee distinctly recommended. They wanted "a Central Office in London," with its Register of names and description of persons, and its own distinct organization; and they spoke of "an arrangement of this description" as "absolutely necessary."

These recommendations, quite feasible in these days of Railways, Electric Telegraphs, and Photographs, if they were carried into effect, would issue in such a system of surveillance and obstruction as would soon make Vagrancy the least attractive and remunerative of trades. To the Home Office and Local Government Board the subject may be commended as sure to repay any pains they may bestow upon it. Happily, since the establishment of the New Board, the Poor Law has lost something of its isolated character, and honest poverty and its dishonest and degraded counterfeit, may now be brought under the combined operation of all the measures calculated to succour the one, and to cure the other.*

[MENDICANCY AND EDUCATION.]

When our new School Boards were first set on foot, I happened to recollect a passage in the Report of 1815 on the state of Mendicity in the metropolis, which seemed so well calculated to illustrate the chief difficulty the new officials might expect to encounter, that I referred to it afresh, and also wrote something on the subject which I find among a group of papers relating to vagrancy. The following is a copy of the passage in question followed by part of what I was then provoked to write. "There is one healthy woman of the name of Keefe; I suppose she is about two-and-thirty years of age, a remarkably strong woman. She has a little boy and a little girl, who stand about Great Russell Street; they were recommended to our schools; I received

* [I refer the reader of this long article to a longer and more complete exposition of the subject, with an appendix of facts in justification of its statements, to the Sessional Proceedings of the Social Science Association for 1870-71. I have not deemed it necessary to distinguish by marks of quotation the parts of that paper which are embodied in this Essay.]

them. On their absence, I inquired the cause she would not let them attend me. She said, '*God bless you, sir, these children earn eight shillings a day for me.*' The witness (master of the Catholic Free School at St. Giles's) adds, his firm belief that this woman spent the greater part of her money in drink, and says that he saw her almost every day intoxicated, very naked and dirty. She was but one of a class that spent most of their money in the same way, and left their children dirty beyond description, with the direct object of imposing on the public. He had encountered some of his scholars with their parents after school hours, begging in the streets.

To all members of all School Boards, to all friends of education everywhere, I commend this case of Mrs. Keefe—healthy, vigorous, drunken, mendicant Mrs. Keefe! She flourished fifty-five years ago; but her counterparts are to be found at the present day by thousands in all the towns of England, just as counterparts of her patrons may be seen by thousands, too, dropping pence about in all streets and highways into the hands of children such as hers. You want to get these children to school. Have you made up your minds how to do it? Have you counted all the cost of trying to do it? You want Mrs. Keefe's children, but Mrs. Keefe wants her gin, and Mrs. Keefe's patrons will not abandon their pet recreation of giving money to those who ask it, simply because they do ask it. Nay, are there not to be found blind leaders of the blind, among the spiritual guides and teachers of every religious denomination (Christian and Pagan) under the sun who are ready at any moment to commend this lazy, slovenly procedure—this mean, disloyal, pestilent vice of dole-giving, as if it had about it a certain odour of sanctity? But Mrs. Keefe knows better. These people are to their faces "Good gentlemen," "Kind ladies," whom the Lord will bless; but, behind their backs, they are "soft Tommies" and "Dozeys,"—in a word, fools and imbeciles, for whom she, and all the like of her, feel the profoundest contempt. She has as little respect for these dole-distributing machines as love for her own children. She uses both as means to an end—Gin. I ask you again, friends of education and members of school boards, how you propose to get Mrs. Keefe's children to school and keep them there? There is one way, plain as a pike-staff, easy as sinning: it is to condemn, persecute, and punish the lazy, slovenly vice, miscalled almsgiving; arming all sensible men and women with the simple reply to all begging in all forms:—"The law forbids me to give, and punishes me for giving."

This, I affirm, is the plain, simple way of getting the children of the people we perversely call poor, the only children with whom we shall find any real difficulty, to school. But for dole-giving there would

be no Mistresses Keefe, and no ragged children turning somersaults, infesting crossings, hanging about the doors of cabs and carriages, grinning into pastry-cooks' windows, waylaying busy men with boxes of matches and bunches of flowers, using begging as the reconnoitering handmaid of thieving; growing up ignorant, squalid, and utterly depraved, to swell the ranks of the *classes dangereuses*—classes not to be disregarded in these days of open-air meetings in Trafalgar Square and the Parks. For with infinite licence of stump oratory, unlimited indiscriminate almsgiving, young Keefes full grown into able-bodied roughs, a Home Office perhaps melting to tears, and a Government fearing, above all things in heaven or on earth, to shed one drop of the basest human blood, who can dare to say what this our London may not have to suffer? You, friends of education and members of School Boards, will yourselves have to go to school again, if you do not know, and cannot be made to feel, what a foe you have to grapple with in this lazy vice. You must either destroy it, or it will baffle you. You talk of compulsion as if it were an easy thing. I warn you that you will find it simply impossible. The Mistresses Keefe will be too much for you. They will not be robbed of their gin. They will circumvent you in some way or other. Their whole time, and every faculty and instinct of their cunning degraded natures will be devoted to the single purpose of deceiving and outwitting you. Their children will slip through your fingers: if needs be, they will be found victims of all sorts of disabling illnesses. I repeat it, the givers and receivers of doles will be too much for you. They will continue, as heretofore, to fill rich England with sham poverty and real crime of every hue and shade; and scoundrellism, professing starvation and inability to get work, will parade itself in all thoroughfares, and, under the guise of tramps and vagrants, continue to feed our hypochondriac fancies about over-population.

What educationalists then have to do is to instruct (if they *can* be taught) the huge dole-giving community, and to get them punished, as did our ancestors some centuries ago; but, above all, to purge the nation of the hypocrisy which sends the mendicant to prison, while for the great parent central vice of dole-giving it has only mild reproofs, or even gentle commendations.

If you will bring about the due punishment of this low vice; if you will somehow contrive to handcuff the indiscriminate almsgiver, I will promise you, for reasons which I could assign, these inevitable consequences:—no destitution, little poverty, lessened poor-rates, prisons emptier, fewer gin-shops, less crowded madhouses, sure signs of under population, and an England worth living in. But if you will prefer in this matter palliation to prevention—the attempt to catch and educate

the little Keefes, while the dole-givers are tempting them with pence—I foretell your utter and disastrous failure. You must choose, once for all, between the repression and punishment of Indiscriminate Almsgiving and Compulsory Education. Members of School Boards, friends of education, make your choice. On the one side you have sloth, imposture, intemperance, disease, crime (wide-spreading poisonous roots of dole-giving), and education impossible for those who most need it: on the other, England regenerate, with education dropping, as natural dew, on all classes, the children of Mistress Keefe not excepted.

One parting word as to this vicious form of almsgiving, this dole-distributing disease. We shall hear of the right of men to do what they will with their own, to drop their pence about how, when, and where they please. But you know that the State acknowledges no such right; that neither a man's capital, nor a man's child, nor even his very life is his own without restriction or reservation. A manufacturer cannot work women and children in all places at all hours; a man cannot withhold his child from vaccination, and be unpunished; he cannot indulge in suicide and fail, without being made to understand that the State claims him and his very life. If the State were as wise as it is busy, it would lose no time in making the indiscriminate almsgiver to feel that in this matter, too, it has a strong and decisive word to utter and enforce.

[OVER POPULATION.]

The English people have always had a habit of making themselves miserable. The metropolis, when it had scarce a tithe of its present inhabitants; the national debt, when it fell short of a hundred millions; reform of parliament, abolition of slavery and the slave-trade, repeal of the Corn Laws, Free Trade—and, in a word, every considerable change and improvement, has filled us with gloomy forebodings. The hypochondriacal notion that large numbers of our people must starve, if we did not interpose a huge, unwieldy Poor Law between them and destruction, has clung to us with singular tenacity; and we have never taken kindly to the Census returns when they have announced an increase of population. With our own soil but partially and most imperfectly cultivated, and a vast half-occupied world open to our people, we have extracted as much misery out of the sound theories of Malthus as if the time had already arrived for applying them to practice.

But instead of feeling uneasy at the present number and progressive growth of our population, it would be much more reasonable to lament the smallness of our numbers. At present the population of the three

kingdoms barely exceeds thirty-two millions, and if we add all British-born subjects who inhabit our colonies, and people of foreign extraction who, in case of war, might be counted on for sympathy and help, we shall have a grand total of some forty millions of souls, being somewhat more than the population of France, somewhat less than that of now-united Germany. With this forty millions of people we must do all the work of a vast Empire; and it is natural to ask with some anxiety whether this number is sufficient to supply the means of offence and defence, should a serious contest unhappily arise. Could we now, as in the long war that ended in 1815, reasonably count on coming out of the contest unscathed, with India and our colonies still in our hands, the seas kept open and safe for the importation of food and raw material, and the export of the manufactures by which we purchase them? Again, the question, whether our population, in face of the great and growing demand for able-bodied men, can be made to yield the requisite number of soldiers and sailors, armed and trained for our defence against aggression, is one of which the importance must be felt by every lover of peace; for if England would enforce her own sincere preference of peace to war, it must be by making and keeping herself so strong in the face of any probable combination of foes, that not even the most captious of her critics can accuse her of advocating peace through a craven fear of consequences.

Many questions of vital importance suggest themselves in respect of the thirty-two million inhabitants of the United Kingdom. Is this number excessive—excessive in reference to our limited territory? excessive in reference to our wealth? Suppose the answer to be in the affirmative, we ought to encourage emigration and discourage immigration, or at least to adopt a policy of absolute non-interference. But if the answer be negative; that is to say, if the population measured, not by mere surface of ground, but by the produce it might be made to yield, and the wealth which, circulating from hand to hand, sets its countless industries in ceaseless motion, is scanty and susceptible of large increase, then the whole subject comes to wear a very different aspect. Now there are strong indications that the latter alternative is the true one: indications stronger far than those which carried conviction to the mind of De Foe when he wrote his able and sensible tract, "Giving Alms no Charity, and Employing the Poor a Grievance to the Nation." In our days, as in his, the wages of skilled labour have risen to a height which renders it possible for the artisan to earn in half the week enough to supply himself and family with what he deems needful for the remainder of it, and still leave a large surplus for intoxicating liquors. In our days, as in his, it is hard to hire labour and difficult to retain it; and yet a succession of tramps

and vagrants, falsely professing willingness to labour and inability to get work, create, as they pass from house to house, village to village, and town to town, from union to union, and from one prison to another, an utterly false impression of over-population, just as a few actors disguised as soldiers circulating round the stage of a theatre, quickly entering at one wing and passing out at the other, create the illusion of an army.

It is these wandering native tribes, swollen by importations from abroad of half-witted Savoyards, and of some of the weakest and worst specimens of humanity to be found in the whole world, that go far to create the impression that the population of England is redundant. At first sight, too, the vast stream of emigrants that pours from our shores, even when we take into account that other stream of immigrants which our wealth and high rate of wages attract, seems to supply a conclusive argument in the same direction. But it is well known that the stream of emigration is much more subject to laws of attraction than repulsion, and highly probable that the emigrants who quit England for want of elbow room, do not exceed in number the immigrants who come to us from abroad, set in motion by the same necessity, real or supposed. Nor ought we to forget that those who go forth as colonists carry with them the habits and preferences of Englishmen, creating, in proportion to their success and the number of their descendants, a demand for the manufactures with which so large a fraction of our people purchase food.

At present, then, and probably for generations yet to come, we need not disquiet ourselves about the numbers of our people. But the time has come for giving some heed to their distribution over our own soil. Every successive Census warns us of the continued growth of our large towns, and the relative falling off in the rural populations. In a sanitary point of view this migration from country to town is obviously to be regretted. It leads both to destruction of life and deterioration of *physique;* and it is the probable reason why the rate of mortality prevailing in England as a whole does not yet yield numerical evidence of the undoubted good results of our many sanitary improvements and reforms. It behoves us therefore to consider by what means (without infringing on the labourer's liberty) we may retain him in the country, or tempt him to return to it. The answer is not far to seek. We must so order matters as, on the one hand, to attract the capital by which all labour is set in motion, and on the other, to so improve the condition of the labourer that he may rather be attracted to the country than repelled from it. The repeal of the Poor Law is the most obvious means of accomplishing both purposes. It would increase the capital of the employer, whether landlord or tenant, raise wages, give a new impetus to all forms of preventive charity, and lead to

improvements in the dwellings and surroundings of the labourer which would form so many counter-attractions to those which our large towns are now able to offer. If coupled with measures for giving security against tramps and vagrants, and for discouraging to the utmost the bad habit of relieving them; and also with such legal enactments as would make the sale and transfer of land easy and cheap; the stream of emigration from country to town might be arrested, or at least diminished. If this were to lead to some scarcity of labour in town districts, that evil would be remedied by new inventions in machinery, and the influx of skilled labour from abroad.

[THE SCIENCE OF BENEFICENCE, AND ART OF DOING GOOD.]

As certainly as there is a science of astronomy and an art of navigation; a science of medicine and an art of healing; a science of botany and arts of agriculture and horticulture, there is a science of beneficence and an art of doing good. Doing good is not an instinct; it does not come by nature. Study is needed that we may acquire the science; training, sound discretion, a blending of serpent and dove, with at least as much of the first as of the last, that we may safely undertake the practice of the art. As a rule, young people of both sexes lack both experience and discretion. It is not well that their minds should be soiled with that knowledge of the baser portions of mankind which age brings with it; and without that knowledge no one can safely try to do good among the so-called poor. As to the Science of Beneficence, thanks to the Reports of Committees on Mendicity and Vagrancy, thanks to the forty years' work of the Statistical Society, the active propaganda of the Social Science Association, the inquiries of the Mendicity and Charity Organization Societies, and the personal experiences of such men as the author of "The Original," all the principles and dogmas of the science that are needed to guide men in the practice of the art have been well ascertained and firmly established: and if they are not yet to be found brought together in some handy-book or *Vade Mecum*, they can all be gleaned from the pages of this work. Indeed, some of its first principles have long been embodied in familiar proverbs, such as "Prevention better than Cure," "A stitch in time saves nine," "Many a little makes a mickle," "Take care of the pence and the pounds will take care of themselves;" and so forth. But of these proverbs, and of the scientific principles of which they may be said to be the utterances, the first in order must take precedence, as the golden rule and guiding principle of all human progress.

This great principle may be said to have been first authoritatively

asserted when the outward act was traced back to its inward source, and we were bidden to seek in that hidden fountain all the springs of good and evil. But the application of the principle was limited to the individual. It was no part of the mission of the Founder of Christianity to instruct governments and rulers. Prevention, as a State policy, as a mode of dealing with mankind in the mass, as being to the body politic what the pure heart is to the clean hands, was to be the more or less conscious discovery of modern times. I have on more than one occasion intimated my own conviction that it took its rise, as it were without observation, in that strange winter's journey of 1773-74 which followed fast on John Howard's appointment as Sheriff of Bedford, and had for its direct results the liberation of the prisoner from all his bonds of physical and moral corruption, and not him only, but the whole community of working and fighting men, to whom the prisoner conveyed the poison of disease and the pollution of morals profoundly corrupted.

Before Howard's time society seems to have had no notion of a Policy of Prevention. Its views appear to have been in harmony with the well-known lines of a poet, who of all that have ever lived was least fitted to be a teacher of prudence—

> "How small of all that human hearts endure
> That part which laws or kings can cause or cure!"

All modern experience runs counter to this teaching. We have been taught by many a painful experience, that governments can exercise, both by acts of omission and commission, a terrible influence on the well-being and happiness of the governed. Such experiences are the fruitful soil from which the truths of science spring; and far as we still are from possessing a Social Science worthy of the name, we may yet apply to the progress already made the happy expression of a wiser poet—

> "Knowledge is proud that he has learned so much,
> Wisdom is humble that he knows no more."

[ALMS-GIVING AND THE SCRIPTURES.]

"I shall in a future number consider to what extent the injunctions in the New Testament with respect to alms-giving are applicable to the present state of things in this country."

The author of "The Original" had already thrown a flood of light on the lower strata of the English population, and had probed the wounds of society to their lowest depths. He had given us the true diagnosis of poverty and pauperism, exhibiting the pauper in his pro-

found degradation, and the Poor Law in all its mischievous activity. He had left the nation without excuse for maintaining the law, and had convicted all indiscriminate alms-givers of folly and something worse. But more yet remained to do. It might be alleged on behalf of the giver of doles that, after all, he did but obey certain solemn injunctions of Scripture. Is this so? Are these injunctions really applicable to the English people, at the present time?

Hitherto, as the reader must have observed, the Author had not noticed in any way the passages in the Gospels which, if taken quite literally, and as standing by themselves, without comment, or the explanation afforded by the analogy of other passages which no Christian man ever yet took to be the guide of his life, would confer on mere giving and lending the dignity of a duty. He does not quote, or even allude to, these passages; but he does cite St. Paul, assuming him to have been familiar with them, as condemning indiscriminate almsgiving in no measured terms; and in this, it is to be observed, he does but follow the example of the clergy themselves, and of those among them whom they most respect. Indeed, it is hard to understand how a clergyman could plead the cause of any well-ordered charity from the pulpit, or address the public on behalf of such an institution as the Charity Organization Society, without either ignoring or explaining away these seemingly stringent commands to give and lend without thought or inquiry. The common practice among laity and clergy alike is to assume that the passages in question have no application to the business of life, and to plead the cause of Charity, truly so-called, on what may be termed, without intending offence, rationalistic principles.

Here is an extract from a sermon preached by Bishop Butler in 1740:*—

"What we have to bestow in charity, being a TRUST, we cannot discharge it faithfully without taking some care to satisfy ourselves, in some degree, that we bestow it upon proper objects of charity. One hears persons complaining that it is difficult to distinguish *who* are such, yet often seeming to forget that this is the reason for using their best endeavours to do it; and others make a custom of giving to idle vagabonds, a kind of charity, very improperly so called, which one really wonders people can allow themselves in, merely to be relieved from importunity, or at best to gratify a false good-nature. For they cannot but know that it is at least very doubtful whether what they

* A Sermon preached at the Parish Church of St. Bridget, Monday in Easter week, in the year 1740, by the late Joseph Butler, LL.D., Bishop of Durham. Printed for the Royal Benevolent Society.

thus give will not immediately be spent in riot and drunkenness. Or suppose it be not, yet still they know they do a great deal of certain mischief, by encouraging this shameful trade of begging in the streets, and all the disorders which accompany it."

How the author of "The Original" would have treated this grave topic I can only conjecture; but as he could scarcely have criticised the injunctions of the New Testament without making some reference to the Old, I shall assume that he would have adopted this course, and arrange my own thoughts under three heads:—1. The Old Testament. 2. The Apocrypha. And 3. The New Testament.

1. The word "poor," and the expression "poor and needy," are largely used throughout the Old Testament, but nowhere, unless I am much mistaken, in the sense of mendicants or impostors. The earliest notice of persons of this degraded class is to be found in one of the apocryphal books, of which I shall have something to say presently. Towards the poor, rightly so called, not only is great tenderness displayed, but they are constantly represented, especially in the Psalms, as under the special protection of Jehovah, who will avenge their cause against the rich, at whose hands they are represented as suffering oppression. When rich and poor are spoken of together, the rich are generally oppressors, the poor oppressed. But the two are always separated by a broad line of distinction. We hear nothing of those almost infinite gradations of wealth and poverty which exist in all civilized nations of our times, and in none to such an extent as among ourselves.

The poor of the Old Testament, then, are the poor of England, as that word has been used everywhere throughout these pages; and there is some reason to think that they were not a very numerous class. For had they been so, the words of the 4th verse of the 15th chapter of Deuteronomy could hardly have been written—

> "Save when there shall be no poor among you."

When, therefore, we arrive at the 11th verse of the same chapter, and encounter the oft-quoted words—

> "The poor shall never cease out of the land,"

whether we take them to be a prophecy, or the statement of a fact, we accept them at once as a universal truth stamped by the experience of all nations in all times. But these words too often derive an adventitious importance from the use to which they are put by those who desire to justify either the lavish distribution of money or the policy of a Poor Law; and who find in them an all-sufficient answer to wiser men who look forward to a time when destitution shall be un-

known, and poverty be reduced to such narrow limits that spontaneous charity, without State-help, will suffice for all our needs. Read the second text by the light of the first; and it follows that the poverty which was never wholly to cease, might yet, in years of exceptional prosperity, disappear. These considerations, I think, ought to prevent these texts from being used either to justify dole-giving, or to deter us from resorting to the only means by which the condition of the lower strata of English society can be improved.

2. The Book of Ecclesiasticus, or the Wisdom of Jesus the son of Sirach, may be fairly taken to represent the experience of a pious and thoughtful man writing after the return of the Jews from captivity. It makes large mention of the poor, and treats fully of almsgiving. The poor are not to be defrauded, but treated with kindness, consideration, and promptitude; and almsgiving is insisted on, and even commended as an atonement for sin. But the giving of alms is to be a work of thoughtful discrimination. In the 12th chapter, we are admonished to know to whom we do good; to do good and give to the good or godly man, and not to help a sinner. The 5th verse of this chapter is very explicit:—"Do well unto him that is lowly, but give not to the ungodly: hold back thy bread, and give it not unto him, lest he over-master thee thereby: for else thou shalt receive twice as much evil for all the good thou shalt have done unto him."

3. The injunctions of the New Testament to which the author of "The Original" refers, must mean those contained in the Gospels; for he had more than once quoted the clear directions of St. Paul as fatal to indiscriminate almsgiving. When he announced his intention of discussing the bearing of these injunctions on the existing state of society, he must have been thinking of such as either upheld indiscriminate almsgiving, or seemed to do so: and this the whole tone and tenour of his writings show to have been the case. What these are we can be at no loss to discover. They occur in the Sermon on the Mount, as fully set forth in the first Gospel, less fully in the third; and their true meaning may be inferred from like passages found in earlier and later portions of the same discourse. The right eye, conveying the impression which the heart transmutes into sin, is to be plucked out; the right hand, mechanical instrument of the fraudulent or violent will, is to be cut off. We who must sow, and reap, and gather into barns, breed, fatten, and kill that we may live; who collect flax, cotton, and silk, and then weave them into garments; who fell timber, hew stone, and cast iron, wherewith to build; are bidden to take no thought for the morrow. Because the life is more than meat, and the body than raiment; because men live and grow as do the lilies of the field and the fowls of the air, without

taking thought; because the lily, by roots piercing the soil, and leaves expanding to the air, swells into a form of surpassing loveliness, and the bird finds within its long range of flight the food it lives upon; we too are to be fed and clothed without forethought or exertion. In the self-same discourse in which these commands are found, we are bidden not only not to resist evil, but voluntarily to intensify every act of injustice. If we receive one blow, we are to invite a second; if, by process of law, we are threatened with loss of our coat, we are to relinquish that and our cloak also; if compelled to go one mile, we are to go two; we are not to seek restitution of stolen goods; we are to lend to every borrower, and give to every asker. It is in a discourse that prescribes mutilation when mortification of evil passions is meant; which, condemns forethought by analogies obviously inapplicable; and prescribes a course of conduct to individuals which, if carried into practice, must utterly disorganize society; that the command to *give to him that asketh* finds its fitting place. The commonest consistency therefore requires that he who defends indiscriminate almsgiving by a literal interpretation of this passage shall qualify himself by mutilation, and the penalties attaching to a life divorced from forethought. He is not at liberty to choose only what is easy, and reject what is painful and inconvenient.

Every man who reads the Scriptures with the most common attention knows that spiritual truths everywhere hide themselves under parables, and imperfect analogies, even under literal statements and commands never meant to be literally obeyed. Draw aside the veil which hides the true meaning of the words, view them in the light of habitual Eastern expression, and such parables as that of Lazarus and Dives, such analogies as those of the lily or the fowl of the air, such statements as were made by Him who, before his body had been wounded, or one drop of his precious blood shed, declared the bread and the wine to be his body and blood, become perfectly plain.

The statement, "The poor ye have always with you," arising out of the incident of the anointing, is one which may be accepted in its literal truth, without extracting from it a justification for acts by which the number of the poor would be increased.

It may be safely affirmed, then, that there is not a word in the Bible, from first to last, which defines the amount of poverty that must needs exist in any community; not a word that denies to individuals or nations the right to deal with the poor as experience may suggest; not a word that implies almsgiving without discretion; not a word, above all, that invests pauperism or destitution (as the terms are used everywhere in these pages) with a single attribute of respectability.

PART V.

RELIGION, MORALS, AND MANNERS.

OBSERVANCE OF THE SABBATH.

THE following letter, addressed to the Bishop of London in my own name, appeared in the *Times* of January 26th, 1833. It has been since so often mentioned to me in terms of approbation, it is so much connected with parish government, and the subject is so applicable to the present conjuncture, that I am induced to republish it without any alteration:—

"My Lord,—Your Lordship's position as bishop of this metropolis, your zeal and energy, and your particular attention to the subject of this letter, make me decide at once to whom to address it.

"The means of accomplishing a better observance of the sabbath have long occupied my thoughts, and were intended to form a principal topic in a second part to my pamphlet on pauperism, of which work your Lordship has been pleased to express your approbation. I am induced to write at this conjuncture by my conviction, from constant experience as a magistrate, of the rapidly increasing demoralization of the lower classes, and by the painful number I am obliged to witness of cases of vice and misery, utterly remediless in the present very inadequate state of our civil and ecclesiastical local polity. I shall confine myself on this occasion to only one suggestion, which I believe would be the best practical beginning of a more effective system.

"To your Lordship, and all those by whom any sound and far-reaching improvement is to be accomplished, it would be quite superfluous to enlarge upon the advantages of a due observance of Sunday in a religious point of view; but I wish to make an observation on the uses of bringing the whole population one day in the week upon parade, if I may so express myself. The consequences would be, a more general solicitude 'to provide things honest in the sight of all men,' and a greater carefulness to avoid whatever was individually lowering in the general eye. Here is a forcible and constantly recurring check on the evil doings of men, and on the indiscretions of the other sex; here is a most powerful inducement to decency of appearance and

behaviour: and if we contrast what must be the condition of a universally church-going people with that of our present population, tainted, preyed upon, and deranged by an untrained and unobserved refuse, we shall come to the conclusion that no pains and no expense would be too great, if only for our own sakes, to bring about the change. I could enlarge much upon this subject, and illustrate my observations by many facts; but a desire to be concise prevents me from adding more than that I believe the proper observance of a day of rest, even in a temporal point of view, is of much greater importance to the well-being of society than is generally conceived.

"I will take occasion here to avow my conviction that a national Church is an institution essential to a well-disciplined State, and that it is for the general interest that that State should provide accommodation for religious worship, with every inducement to attend it, for those who otherwise would be unprovided. A position has lately been taken, that dissenters from the Church ought not to be called on to contribute towards its maintenance, on the ground that they pay for themselves, and derive no benefit from the Establishment. As well might a dissenter from gas-lights, who should choose to carry his own lantern, protest against being rated, on the ground that, as he lighted himself, he derived no benefit from living in a lighted community. The argument is founded on false premisses, and goes to the dissolution of society.

"Of the mass of persons who have lost the habit of going to a place of worship, or have never been there, it is probable most, if not all, have at times an inclination to change their course, either from some flash of good feeling, from curiosity, from the influence of remorse or calamity, or from some other temporary excitement; but the difficulties that will ordinarily present themselves to such must generally be too strong for their diffidence or want of energy to overcome; the favourable moment passes, and multitudes are lost, or, being lost, lose all chance of being reclaimed. At present 'the harvest truly is plenteous, but the labourers are few.'

"The plan I would propose is, that the incumbent of each parish in the metropolis, with the churchwardens, and a competent number of respectable inhabitants to be approved of by the clergyman, should divide their parish into convenient districts, and should, by personal inquiry, ascertain how many in each district, at present unprovided, would wish to attend a place of worship; that first, the utmost accommodation and facilities should be afforded, so far as the existing churches or chapels would allow; secondly, that rooms should be licensed where clergymen could be procured and remunerated; and, lastly, the two resources failing, that discreet persons, not in orders,

should be appointed by the incumbent to read, in sufficient and convenient places, prayers and a short plain sermon, to be chosen each week by the clergyman. The duties of the persons co-operating with the churchwardens should be to receive and point out accommodation to those presenting themselves at each place of worship, and to go round their respective districts from time to time, to induce, by a judicious manifestation of interest, an increasing attendance. I think such a process would be productive of excellent effects to both classes, and if any objection is made to rooms, or officiators not in orders, my answer is, that in the earliest ages of Christianity rooms preceded churches, and would now lead to them, and that if respectable laymen may not officiate to the extent proposed, a large mass must be left destitute, or fall into less desirable hands.

"With respect to the expense, I apprehend it would be comparatively trifling. The services of the laymen would of course be gratuitous, and rooms, no doubt, would often be offered on the same terms, or, at most, for a moderate consideration. I have myself had much experience amongst the lower classes, and I should be willing to give all the assistance in my power in the furtherance of the plan, which I am convinced would lead to a variety of beneficial results, greater than could at the outset be calculated.

"I have the honour to be your Lordship's faithful servant."

DIFFICULTIES.

It is weak to be scared at difficulties, seeing that they generally diminish as they are approached, and oftentimes even entirely vanish. No man can tell what he can do till he tries. It is impossible to calculate the extent of human powers; it can only be ascertained by experiment. What has been accomplished by parties and by solitary individuals in the torrid and the frozen regions, under circumstances the most difficult and appalling, should teach us that, when we ought to attempt, we should never despair.

The reason why men oftener succeed in overcoming uncommon difficulties than ordinary ones is, that in the first case they call into action the whole of their resources, and that in the last they act upon calculation, and generally undercalculate. Where there is no retreat, and the whole energy is forward, the chances are in favour of success; but a backward look is full of danger. Confidence of success is almost success; and obstacles often fall of themselves before a determination to overcome them. There is something in resolution which has an influence beyond itself, and it marches on like a mighty lord among its slaves; all is prostration where it appears. When bent on good, it is almost

the noblest attribute of man; when on evil, the most dangerous. It is by habitual resolution that men succeed to any great extent; impulses are not sufficient. What is done at one moment is undone the next; and a step forward is nothing gained, unless it is followed up.

Resolution depends mainly on the state of the digestion, which St. Paul remarkably illustrates, when he says, "*Every man that striveth for the mastery is temperate in all things. Now they do it to obtain a corruptible crown, but we an incorruptible. I therefore so run, not as uncertainly; so fight I, not as one that beateth the air; but I keep under my body, and bring it into subjection, lest that by any means, when I have preached to others, I myself should be a castaway.*"

EASE OF MIND.

Ease of mind is incomparably the most valuable of all possessions—not the ease of indolence, but of action—the smoothness of the unruffled current, not of the stagnant pool. This possession is not the gift of fortune; the gifts of fortune frequently destroy it. It must be of our own acquiring, and is, in a great measure, within the reach of all who diligently seek after it. It does not depend upon the amount of our worldly possessions, but upon our mode of using them; not upon our ability to gratify our desires, but upon our regulation of them. It is essentially the result of our habits, which habits are entirely within our own control. To enjoy ease of mind, there must be a feeling that we are fulfilling our duties to the best of our power, otherwise we only sear instead of satisfying our conscience.

The possession of riches, or the pursuit of them, beyond the limits of moderation, is unfavourable to this state, because temperance in the use of worldly enjoyments is absolutely necessary to it, and then comes the responsibility of the application of our superfluity. How many men's ease must be destroyed by superabundance, who would have been happy with less temptation, or with the feeling that less was expected from them!

The pursuit of riches for the sake of riches, unfits the mind for ease, by generating a perpetual restlessness and anxiety, and by exposing to continual disappointments; and the same may be said, even in a stronger degree, of an ambitious love of those worldly distinctions, which, neither in the pursuit, nor in the possession, can confer any real enjoyment. A steady advance by honest roads towards those things which are within our reach without too arduous efforts, and which, being attained, are worth our having, should be the aim of all who have their fortune to make; whilst they who have had theirs made for them, should habituate themselves to temperance in their own enjoyments, and to active and discreet liberality towards others.

They who diligently cultivate the habits necessary to attain ease of mind, place themselves almost above its disturbance. To the mortifications of disappointed ambition they are not at all exposed, and to the crosses of adverse fortune very little, whilst unavoidable afflictions, in the well-constituted, soften rather than sour the mind, and cannot be said to destroy its ease. Like cypresses, they throw a shade over the current, but in no way to disturb its smoothness.

Strict and constant discipline can ensure ease of mind in poverty or privation, of which St. Paul has afforded a beautiful example in his own person. "*I have learned in whatsoever state I am, therewith to be content. I know both how to be abased, and I know how to abound. Everywhere and in all things I am instructed both to be full and to be hungry, both to abound and to suffer need.*"

But it must not be forgotten, that in this discipline is included the fixed contemplation of things above. They of this world only, cannot expect to bear the afflictions of the world, as if they looked upon it as a mere state of preparation for another, which is the peculiar advantage possessed by the true Christian. There is no book comparable to the New Testament for teaching that temper of mind which is alone capable of ensuring a current of happiness independent of external interruptions. It gives that tone which prevents us from annoying or feeling annoyance. It teaches us to bear all things, to hope all things, and to think no evil. How different such a state from that of those who bear nothing, hope nothing, and are ever thinking evil!

In order to derive full benefit from the doctrines of the New Testament, it is not sufficient to recur to them occasionally, but by daily attention to make them part of our system, so that the mind may become its own master, and as much as possible independent of everything without. Goldsmith says:—

> "How small of all that human hearts endure,
> That part which laws or kings can cause or cure!
> Still to ourselves in every place consign'd,
> Our own felicity we make or find."

Shakspeare observes, "there is nothing either good or bad, but thinking makes it so;" and Milton expresses it,—

> "The mind is its own place, and in itself,
> Can make a heaven of hell, a hell of heaven."

In order to enjoy ease of mind in our intercourse with the world, we should introduce into our habits of business punctuality, decision, the practice of being beforehand, despatch, and exactness; in our pleasures, harmlessness and moderation; and in all our dealings, perfect

integrity and love of truth. Without these observances we are never secure of ease, nor indeed taste it in its highest state. As in most other things, so here, people in general do not aim at more than mediocrity of attainment, and of course usually fall below their standard; whilst many are so busy in running after what should procure them ease, that they totally overlook the thing itself.

Ease of mind has the most beneficial effect upon the body, and it is only during its existence that the complicated physical functions are performed with the accuracy and facility which nature designed. It is consequently a great preventive of disease, and one of the surest means of effecting a cure when disease has occurred; without it, in many cases no cure can take place. By ease of mind many people have survived serious accidents, from which nothing else could have saved them, and in every instance recovery is much retarded by the absence of it. Its effect upon the appearance is no less remarkable. It prevents and repairs the ravages of time in a singular degree, and is the best preservative of strength and beauty. It often depends greatly upon health, but health always depends greatly upon it. The torments of a mind ill at ease seem to be less endurable than those of the body; for it scarcely ever happens that suicide is committed from bodily suffering.

As far as the countenance is an index, "the vultures of the mind" appear to tear it more mercilessly than any physical pain, and no doubt there have been many who would willingly have exchanged their mental agony for the most wretched existence that penury could produce. From remorse there is no escape. In aggravated cases, probably, there is no instant, sleeping or waking, in which its influence is totally unfelt. Remorse is the extreme one way; the opposite is that cleanliness of mind, which has never been recommended anywhere to the same extent that it is by the precepts of the Christian religion, and which alone constitutes "perfect freedom." It would be curious if we could see what effect such purity would have upon the appearance and actions of a human being—a being who lived, as Pope expresses it, in "the eternal sunshine of the spotless mind."

GOOD BREEDING.

A gentleman is a Christian in spirit that will take a polish. The rest are but plated goods; and however excellent their fashion, rub them more or less, the base metal will appear through.

An Englishman making the grand tour, towards the middle of the last century, when travellers were more objects of attention than at present, on arriving at Turin sauntered out to see the place. He happened to meet a regiment of infantry returning from parade, and

taking a position to see it pass, a young captain, evidently desirous to make a display before the stranger, in crossing one of the numerous water-courses with which the city is intersected, missed his footing, and in trying to save himself lost his hat. The exhibition was truly unfortunate—the spectators laughed—and looked at the Englishman, expecting him to laugh too. On the contrary, he not only retained his composure, but promptly advanced to where the hat had rolled, and taking it up, presented it with an air of unaffected kindness to its confused owner. The officer received it with a blush of surprise and gratitude, and hurried to rejoin his company: there was a murmur of applause—and the stranger passed on. Though the scene of a moment, and without a word spoken, it touched every heart—not with admiration for a mere display of politeness, but with a warmer feeling for a proof of that true charity "which never faileth."

On the regiment being dismissed, the captain, who was a young man of consideration, in glowing terms related the circumstance to his colonel. The colonel immediately mentioned it to the general in command; and when the Englishman returned to his hotel, he found an aide-de-camp waiting to request his company to dinner at head-quarters. In the evening he was carried to court—at that time, as Lord Chesterfield tells us, the most brilliant court in Europe—and was received with particular attention. Of course, during his stay in Turin, he was invited everywhere, and on his departure he was loaded with letters of introduction to the different states of Italy. Thus a private gentleman of moderate means, by a graceful impulse of Christian feeling, was enabled to travel through a foreign country, then of the highest interest for its society as well as for the charms it still possesses, with more real distinction and advantage than can ever be derived from the mere circumstances of birth and fortune, even the most splendid.

I think I cannot more appropriately conclude this anecdote than by adding the excellent and excellently expressed advice of Polonius to his son, on his departure for a foreign country. The precepts are admirably adapted to form a man of the world and a gentleman, in the best sense of the terms; and, in my opinion, are well worth committing to memory by those whom they concern:—

> "Give thy thoughts no tongue,
> Nor any unproportion'd thought his act.
> Be thou familiar, but by no means vulgar.
> The friends thou hast, and their adoption tried,
> Grapple them to thy soul with hooks of steel;
> But do not dull thy palm with entertainment
> Of each new-hatched unfledg'd comrade. Beware
> Of entrance into quarrel! but, being in,
> Bear it, that the opposer may beware of thee.

Give every man thine ear, but few thy voice;
Take each man's censure, but reserve thy judgment.
Costly thy habit as thy purse can buy,
But not express'd in fancy; rich, not gaudy;
For the apparel oft proclaims the man.
Neither a borrower nor a lender be;
For loan oft loses both itself and friend,
And borrowing dulls the edge of husbandry.
This above all—to thine own self be true,
And it must follow, as the night the day,
Thou canst not then be false to any man."

RICHNESS OF SPIRIT.

How superior is a poor man with a rich spirit, to a rich man with a poor spirit! To borrow the expression of St. Paul, he is "as having nothing, and yet possessing all things." While the other presents the melancholy reverse; he is as possessing all things, and yet having nothing. The first hopes everything and fears nothing; the last hopes nothing and fears everything. There is no absolute poverty without poverty of spirit. The sunshine of the mind gives only the bright side. He who lives under its influence, is courted by all men, and may, if he will, enjoy their goods without their troubles. The world is, as it were, held in trust for him; and in freedom from care, he is alone entitled to be called a gentleman. He is the most independent of all men, because fortune has the least power over him. He is the only man that is free and unfettered; he may do what he pleases, and nothing is expected from him. He escapes importunity and flattery, and feels a perpetual consciousness that he is not sought for but for himself. Suspicion of motives never chills his confidence, nor withers his enjoyment. He has an enriching power within himself, which makes his outward wants easily supplied with industry and prudence, without the necessity of anxious toil. A little is his enough, and beyond is an encumbrance. This is the Christian doctrine, and the doctrine of reason, which ever go together. The principle is the same, whether a man have a family or not; good training is a better patrimony than wealth, as I have elsewhere expressed in the short article entitled "Life." To promote richness of spirit as a national characteristic, it is necessary to have spirited governments both local and general, and in each community a large common purse—the very reverse of the present tone, and of the wretched doctrines of the economists. The greatest quantity and the greatest diffusion of enjoyment, with the least care, are to be found under a system of private comfort and public magnificence. Illustrative of much of the above is the following speech of Hamlet to Horatio:—

"Horatio, thou art e'en as just a man
As e'er my conversation cop'd withal.
Hor. O, my dear Lord.——
Ham. Nay, do not think I flatter:
For what advancement may I hope from thee,
That no revenue hast, but thy good spirit,
To feed and clothe thee? . . . .
Since my dear soul was mistress of her choice,
And could of men distinguish her election,
She hath seal'd thee for herself; for thou hast been
As one, in suffering all, that suffers nothing—
A man, that fortune's buffets and rewards
Hast ta'en with equal thanks: and blessed are those
Whose blood and judgment are so well commingled,
That they are not a pipe for fortune's finger
To sound what stop she please. Give me the man
That is not passion's slave, and I will wear him
In my heart's core, ay, in my heart of hearts,
As I do thee."

TEMPER.

Of all personal and mental attractions the two most permanent are undoubtedly smoothness of skin and temper—a sort of velvetness of body and mind. As they both especially depend upon the digestion, that is one of the strongest arguments for attending to its state. For once that the actions of human beings are guided by reason, ninety and nine times they are more or less influenced by temper. It is an even temper only that allows reason her full dominion, and enables us to arrive at any intended end by the nearest way, or at all. On the other hand, there is no obstacle to advancement or happiness so great as an undisciplined temper—a temper subject to pique or uncertainty. Pique is at once the bitterest and most absurd enemy a man can have. It will make him run counter to his dearest interests, and at the same time render him completely regardless of the interests of all around him. It will make him blindly violate every principle of truth, honesty, and humanity, and defeat the most important business, or break up the happiest party, without remorse, or a seeming consciousness of doing what is wrong. It is pity that those who allow themselves to be subject to it are not treated with a great deal more severity than they usually are; for, in truth, they are greater pests to society than all the criminals who infest it, and, in my opinion, are often much more blameworthy. I have remarked, that persons much given to pique are frequently particularly strict in the outward observances of religion. They must have strange notions, or rather no notions at all, of the spirit of Christianity; and the doctrines they hear must fall upon the most stony of places. Nay, I have met with persons so insensible to propriety, as to avow, without scruple, that

they have left off attending a place of worship from some supposed affront they have received there. The concluding sentence of Fenelon's Telemachus is so much in unison with my sentiments, and is so well expressed, that I will conclude with it.

"Above all things be on your guard against your temper. It is an enemy that will accompany you everywhere, to the last hour of your life. If you listen to it, it will frustrate all your designs. It will make you lose the most important opportunities, and will inspire you with the inclinations and aversions of a child, to the prejudice of your gravest interests. Temper causes the greatest affairs to be decided by the most paltry reasons; it obscures every talent, paralyzes every energy, and renders its victims unequal, weak, vile, and insupportable."

HOW TO SAVE TIME.

If you are not in the humour for doing anything, and necessity does not press, do not waste yourself in vain efforts, or fritter away time in inaction, but turn to something else, or think what is most likely to put you into the humour you wish, whether exercise, or refreshment, or society, and that try. By such a process you will often make what is difficult and irksome, easy and agreeable: you will generally save time in the end, and almost always do better what you have to do. Some people are continually flying off from their occupations, so as scarcely ever to reach the effective point of application, whilst others go on so long as to destroy their energy, and render perseverance useless. There is a profitable and wholesome mean between inconstancy and weariness. When we know what we shall have to do, it is wise to make suitable preparation; as professed gamblers, by abstemiousness and repose, make themselves fresh and clear for their midnight practices.

There are three weaknesses in our habits, which are very common, and which have a very prejudicial influence on our welfare. The first is giving way to the ease or indulgence of the moment, instead of doing at once what ought to be done. This practice almost always diminishes the beneficial effects of our actions, and often leads us to abstain from action altogether; as for instance, if in the winter season, there is a gleam of sunshine, of which we feel we ought to take advantage, but have not the resolution to leave at the moment a comfortable seat, or an attractive occupation, we miss the most favourable opportunity, and perhaps at last justify ourselves in remaining indoors on the ground that the time for exercise is past. One evil attendant upon this habit of procrastination is, that it produces a certain dissatisfaction of the mind which impedes and deranges the animal functions, and tends to

prevent the attainment of a high state of health. A perception of what is right, followed by a promptness of execution, would render the way of life perpetually smooth. Children should be told to do nothing but what is reasonable, but they should be taught to do what they are told at once. The habit will stand them in stead all their lives. The second weakness is, when we have made a good resolution, and have partially failed in executing it, we are very apt to abandon it altogether. For instance, if a person who has been accustomed to rise at ten, resolves to rise at six, and, after a few successful attempts, happens to sleep till seven, there is great danger that he will relapse into his former habit, or probably even go beyond it, and lie till noon. It is the same with resolutions as to economy, or temperance, or anything else; if we cannot do all we intended, or make one slip, we are apt to give up entirely. Now what we should aim at is, always to do the best we can under existing circumstances; and then our progress, with the exception of slight interruptions, would be continual. The third and last weakness to which I allude is, the practice of eating and drinking things, because they are on table, and especially when they are to be paid for. How seldom it happens that two men leave a few glasses of wine in a decanter at a coffee-house, though they have both had enough! and the consequence of not doing so frequently is to order a fresh supply; but, at any rate, even the first small excess is pernicious. Excess, however slight, either in solids or liquids, deranges the powers of digestion, and of course diminishes the full benefit of any meal. It often induces an indisposition to move, and so one excess leads to another. What is called a second appetite is generated, and the proper bounds being once passed, it is not easy to fix another limit. The importance in a man's life of stopping at enough is quite incalculable; and to be guilty of excess for the reason I have just mentioned, though very common, is the height of folly. A very small quantity will cause the difference between spending the remainder of the day profitably and agreeably, or in indolence and dissipation.

EDUCATION.

It is a great art in the education of youth to find out peculiar aptitudes, or, where none exist, to create inclinations, which may serve as substitutes. Different minds are like different soils; some are suited only to particular cultivation; others will mature almost anything: others, again, are best adapted to a round of ordinary products; and a few are wasted, unless they are reserved for what is most choice. The common run of minds may be compared to arable land, and are suited indifferently to the drudgery of any business. There is a more

rugged, and apparently sterile class, which yields no return to ordinary cultivation, but is like the mountain side, rearing, in a course of years, the stately forest; and there are the felicitous few, which resemble the spots calculated for the choicest vineyards. It is fortunate for the individuals and society, when each class is put to its proper use.

To pursue the comparison, minds, like soils, are often deceitful in their early promise; and as a young orchard will sometimes thrive vigorously for a time, and when its owner expects a fair return, will canker and die—so youth will promise success in a particular line, till some hidden defect begins to operate, and the fondest hopes are blasted. However, these are the exceptions, and not the rule, and sound judgment in the destination of children will, in the vast majority of cases, be amply repaid.

The great error, I apprehend, that parents fall into, and often unconsciously, is, that they consult their own interests and inclinations rather than those of their children, and that vanity, ambition, and avarice, too often blind their understandings. There are difficulties even with the purest intentions, because apparent aptitudes are not, as I have already observed, always real ones, and because inclinations often arise from accidental causes, and change for the same reason. Where there is a great and undoubted aptitude it must be injudicious to thwart it; for though the indulgence may be attended with objections, it must in the nature of things be compensated by keen enjoyment, and it is better to be eminently successful in an inferior line than moderately so, with a great chance of failure, in a superior one.

Where it seems a matter of indifference to what a young person is destined, it is important, when the choice is made, to create a corresponding inclination, which will serve in some sort instead of an aptitude, and this may be easily accomplished in general by contriving some attraction to the calling, as by bringing about an intimacy with one already engaged in it, and turning the will of the parent into the choice of the child. Some such course is the most likely to ensure that willingness and steadiness which are the forerunners of success.

There are certain useful branches of learning which it is expedient, or rather necessary, that every one should be instructed in according to situation in life, whatever may be the individual repugnance or unfitness. But it is otherwise with accomplishments and the higher parts of learning; for they profit really nothing, where there is no turn for them, and the time and attention they are made to occupy might often be advantageously employed on plainer subjects. I will instance the routine of accomplishments that young ladies are constrained to acquire, whether they have any taste for them or not, the display of which, when unaccompanied by taste, is a great annoyance

in society. A taste cultivated affords pleasure both to the possessor and to others; and if people would only addict themselves to that in which they excel, they might well afford to be ignorant of most other matters. What a quantity of dancing, singing, playing, and drawing there is, which has no other effect but to expose and bore!

In training youth, care should be taken from the first, not only to instil into their minds a desire for excelling in those things which are worthy of excellence, but they should be taught to hold in contempt what is useless and prejudicial. Strength is excellent; but the waste of strength is folly. To be equal to every occasion is glorious; but to do more than the occasion requires is vainglorious. Men are taught to pique themselves upon excess, instead of upon economy, in their resources, and the vanity of parents leads them to encourage their children in that prodigality of effort which is sure to be followed by regret. In fasting and in feasting, in exercise and in amusement, we are not content to observe the happy medium, but strive to distinguish ourselves by overstepping the bounds of reason. In what is useful we introduce abuse, and in what is pernicious, we exceed our inclinations, merely for the sake of boasting.

Men ride, and drink, and fast unreasonably, solely to say that they have done so, and indulge in extravagance and profligacy, and vice and frivolity, only for the name. If youth were taught to glory in health and prudence, and all their consequences, and to be ashamed of the opposites, their habits would be as easily formed to what is profitable and becoming, as to the reverse. Fashion is all. To suffer real inconvenience from useless, or worse than useless feats, for the empty pleasure of talking of them, is barbarous folly, to which sound training would make men superior. What a perversion is it to glory in riding or walking long distances, without rest or refreshment, in drinking several bottles of wine at a sitting, or in slaughtering game by heaps! The true glory is to use a good constitution well, and for worthy ends.

SOUND PRINCIPLES.

It is the test of sound principles that they are received slowly, and, when established, that they endure long. It is the test of quackery that it is greedily listened to, quickly adopted, and quickly laid aside. The cause is, that sound principles appeal to the reason, and false ones to the prejudices and narrow interests of mankind; and mankind are much more governed by prejudices and narrow interests than by reason. It is pity that rulers do not take the more difficult, but more honourable course, of bringing reason into play. It is a clear proof that they are more intent on profiting by mankind, than that mankind

should profit by them. Whenever one man is willing to serve another at the expense of principle, it must be from one of two reasons; either he cannot know what principle is, or he sacrifices it for some view of his own.

MIDNIGHT REFLECTIONS.

"The iron tongue of midnight" proclaims another day gone for ever. How we loiter away our lives! If we wasted our means as we do our time, we should be bankrupts all.

We live on resolutions instead of performances, and content ourselves with the ease of the present, in the confidence of future exertion. We condemn the omissions of others, and overlook our own.

We neglect the advantages we have, and think what we should do if we were something else than what we are.

We look back upon the past, and sigh that we did not begin then; yet we let the present slip as we let the past before.

We possess each the sovereignty of ourselves—the noblest and most profitable field in which to exercise dominion, but we busy ourselves most in what least concerns us. We make ourselves slaves where we might be kings, and seek for power where it profits us nothing.

We pretend to reform others, whilst we exhibit in our own persons examples of neglect, disorder, and revolt.

Our passions, which we ought to govern, we suffer to govern us, and instead of aiding us in our course they hurry us out of it till they have lost their force; and our judgment takes possession of her seat when she has nothing to guide. Man is like a vehicle hurried across a dangerous country by powerful and fiery steeds, and never gaining the road till they are become worn-out hacks.

But there are the busy few toiling after their own destruction in the fields of avarice and ambition, mistaking means for ends, and laying up for themselves loads of care and anxiety, till the grave opens, and they discover on its brink that the journey through this world was not to provide the things of this world, but those for the world to come. They are like travellers from a distant country arriving on the shores of the boundless ocean, encumbered with everything but what pertains to their voyage. Though they have used their time it was only to abuse it, and their labour has been worse than vain.

If we would live as we ought to do, we must so enjoy the present that we may look upon the past with pleasure, and upon the future with hope. The more we can bring ourselves to consider the importance of the future, the more likely we are duly to regulate the present; and the happiness of this life mainly depends upon our reference to that in the life to come.

PART VI.

MISCELLANEA AND SAYINGS.

CHANGES OF FORTUNE.

When the late Lord Erskine was Lord Chancellor, he invited the gentleman who told me the following anecdote, to breakfast with him. While they were conversing, a servant brought in a letter, which Lord Erskine read with considerable emotion. After a pause, he said it was from one of the French princes, without naming which, and added, that it was to solicit his assistance on the occasion of some embarrassment. He then remarked upon the very extraordinary change which a few years had brought about in their respective fortunes. "The first time I saw the writer of this letter," he continued, "was at Versailles. I was then a poor ensign on my way to join my regiment, which was lying in Minorca. As I was travelling to Paris in a public vehicle, one of the passengers, who held some inferior situation in the palace, offered to procure me an opportunity of seeing the court, and there I beheld this prince figuring in the most brilliant manner as one of the most distinguished men in Europe. I was then in the lowest rank in one profession, and am now at the head of another of a totally different nature, and he, in exile and in poverty, is supplicating my aid."

As I am upon the subject of the reverses of princes, I will present my readers, to many of whom I have no doubt it will be new and interesting, with an extract from Lord Clarendon's "History of the Rebellion," in which he gives an account as he had it from the king himself, of Charles the Second's escape after the battle of Worcester, in which he was defeated by Cromwell.

This battle was fought at the end of September, and it was after it that Charles concealed himself in the oak, and not, as is commonly supposed, on the 29th of May, which is the anniversary of his restoration. The king's relish for the homeliest fare, his extreme suffering, and his humble guide's encouragement to him to persevere, are curious, and possess an interest beyond fiction.

"When the night covered them (that is, a body of Scottish cavalry),

the king found means to withdraw himself with one or two of his own servants, whom he likewise discharged, when it began to be light; and after he had made them cut off his hair, he betook himself alone into an adjacent wood, and relied only upon Him for his preservation, who alone could, and did, miraculously deliver him. . . . . After the king had cast himself into the wood, he observed another man who had gotten upon an oak near the place where the king had rested himself, and had slept soundly. The man upon the tree had first seen the king, and knew him, and came down to him, and was known to the king, being a gentleman of the neighbouring county of Staffordshire, who had served his late majesty during the war, and had now been one of the few who resorted to the king after his coming to Worcester. His name was Careless, a Catholic, who had had a command of foot, about the degree of a captain, under the Lord Loughborough. He persuaded the king, since it could not be safe for him to go out of the wood, and that as soon as it should be fully light, the wood itself would probably be visited by those of the country who would be searching to find those whom they might make prisoners, that he would get up into that tree where he had been. The king thought it good counsel; and with the other's help climbed into the tree, and then helped his companion to ascend after him; where they sat all that day, and securely saw many who came purposely into the wood to look after them, and heard all their discourses, how they would use the king himself, if they could take him.

"The day being spent in the tree, it was not in the king's power to forget that he had lived two days with eating very little, and two nights with as little sleep; so that when the night came, he was willing to make some provision for both, and he resolved, with the advice and assistance of his companion, to leave the blessed tree; and when the night was dark, they walked through the wood into those enclosures which were the farthest from any highway, and making a shift to get over hedges and ditches, after walking at least eight or nine miles, which were the more grievous to the king by the weight of his boots (for he could not put them off, when he cut off his hair, for want of shoes), before morning, they came to a poor cottage, the owner whereof, being a Roman Catholic, was known to Careless. He was called up, and as soon as he knew one of them, he easily concluded in what condition they both were; and presently carried them into a little barn full of hay, which was a better lodging than he had for himself. But when they were there, and had conferred with their host of the news and temper of the country, it was agreed that the danger would be the greater if they stayed together; and therefore that Careless should presently be gone, and should within two days send an honest man to

the king to guide him to some other place of security, and in the mean time his majesty should stay upon the hay-mow. The poor man had nothing for him to eat, but promised him good butter-milk; and so he was once more left alone, his companions, how weary soever, departing from him before day, the poor man of the house knowing no more than that he was a friend of the captain's, and one of those who had escaped from Worcester.

"The king slept very well in his lodgings till the time that his host brought him a piece of bread, and a great pot of buttermilk, which he thought the best food he had ever eaten.

"The poor man spoke very intelligently to him of the country, and of the people who were well or ill affected to the king, and of the great fear and terror that possessed the hearts of those who were best affected. He told him that he himself lived by his daily labour, and that what he had brought him was the fare he and his wife had, and that he feared if he should endeavour to procure better, it might draw suspicion upon him, and people might be apt to think he had somebody with him that was not of his own family. However, if he would have him get some meat, he would do it; but if he could bear the hard diet, he should have enough of the milk, and some of the butter that was made with it. The king was satisfied with his reason, and would not run the hazard of a change of diet: he only desired the man that he might have his company as often and as much as he could give it him, there being the same reason against the poor man's discontinuing his labour as the alteration of his fare.

"After he had rested upon this hay-mow, and fed upon this diet two days and two nights, in the evening before the third night, another fellow, a little above the condition of his host, came to the house, sent from Careless to conduct the king to another house, more out of any road near which any part of the army was like to march. It was about twelve miles that he was to go, and was to use the same caution he had done the first night, not to go in any common road, which his guide knew well how to avoid. Here he new-dressed himself, changing clothes with his landlord. He had a great mind to have kept his own shirt, but he considered that men are not sooner discovered by any mark in disguise, than by having fine linen in ill clothes, and so he parted with his shirt too, and took the same his poor host had then on. Though he had foreseen that he must leave his boots, and his landlord had taken the best care to provide an old pair of shoes, yet they were not easy to him when he first put them on, and in a short time after grew very grievous to him.

"In this equipage he set out from his first lodging in the beginning of the night, under the conduct of his guide, who guided him the

nearest way, crossing over hedges and ditches, that they might be in least danger of meeting passengers. This was so grievous a march, and he was so tired, that he was even ready to despair, and to prefer being taken and suffered to rest, before purchasing his safety at that price. His shoes had, after a few miles, hurt him so much that he had thrown them away, and walked the rest of the way in his ill stockings, which were quickly worn out, and his feet, with the thorns in getting over hedges, and with the stones in other places, were so hurt and wounded, that he many times cast himself upon the ground with a desperate and obstinate resolution to rest there till the morning, that he might shift with less torment, what hazard soever he ran.

"But his stout guide still prevailed with him to make a new attempt, sometimes promising that the way should be better, and sometimes assuring him that he had but little farther to go; and in this distress and perplexity, before the morning, they arrived at the house designed, which though it was better than that which he had left, his lodging was still in the barn, upon straw instead of hay, a place being made as easy in it as the expectation of a guest could dispose it. Here he had such meat and porridge as such people use to have, with which, but especially with the butter and cheese, he thought himself well feasted, and took the best care he could to be supplied with other, but little better, shoes and stockings, and after his feet were enough recovered that he could go, he was conducted from thence to another poor house, within such a distance as put him not to much trouble; for having not yet in his thought which way or by what means to make his escape, all that was designed was only, by shifting from one house to another, to avoid discovery. And being now in that quarter which was more inhabited by the Roman Catholics than most other parts in England, he was led from one to another of that persuasion, and concealed with great fidelity. But he then observed that he was never carried to any gentleman's house, though that country was full of them, but only to poor houses of poor men, which only yielded him rest with very unpleasant sustenance; whether there was more danger in those better houses in regard of the resort and the many servants, or whether the owners of great estates were the owners likewise of more fears and apprehensions."

At last the king, as is well known, was taken to the house of Mr. Lane, a Protestant gentleman of remarkably high character, and trusted by both persuasions. From thence he rode before Mrs. Lane to Bristol, in the disguise of a neighbour's son, and finally escaped to France, after having been recognised by many persons, and betrayed by none.

AGRICULTURE.

In looking into Coleridge's "Table Talk" the other day, I met with a passage in high commendation of the poet Cowley's "Essays." It put me in mind of an extract I formerly made from the one in praise of agriculture, which I give below on account of its beauty. On some future occasion I mean to pursue the subject, with reference to its present state in this country.

Extract from Cowley.

The first wish of Virgil was to be a good philosopher—the second, a good husbandman; and God (whom he seemed to understand better than most of the most learned heathens) dealt with him just as he did with Solomon—because he prayed for wisdom in the first place, he added all things else which were subordinately to be desired. He made him one of the best philosophers and best husbandmen; and to adorn and communicate both these faculties, the best poet. He made him, besides all this, a rich man, and a man who desired to be no richer. To be a husbandman is but a retreat from the city; to be a philosopher, from the world; or rather, a retreat from the world as it is man's, into the world as it is God's.

But since Nature denies to most men the capacity or appetite, and Fortune allows but to a very few the opportunities or possibility of applying themselves wholly to philosophy, the best mixture of human affairs that we can make is to be found in the employments of a country life. It is, as Columella calls it, "Res sine dubitatione proxima et quasi consanguinea sapientiæ," the nearest neighbour, or rather next in kindred, to philosophy. Varro says, the principles of it are the same which Ennius made to be the principles of all nature, earth, water, air, and the sun. It does certainly comprehend more parts of philosophy than any one profession, art, or science in the world besides; and therefore Cicero says, the pleasures of a husbandman—"mihi ad sapientis vitam proximè videntur accedere"—come very nigh to those of a philosopher. There is no other sort of life that affords so many branches of praise to a panegyrist:—the utility to a man's self; the usefulness or rather necessity of it to all the rest of mankind; the innocence, the pleasure, the antiquity, the dignity. . . . .

If great delights be joined with so much innocence, I think it is ill done of men not to take them here, where they are so tame and ready at hand, rather than hunt for them in courts and cities, where they are so wild, and the chace so troublesome and dangerous. We are here among the vast and noble scenes of nature; we are there among

the pitiful shifts of policy: we work here in the light and open ways of the divine bounty; we grope there in the dark and confused labyrinths of human malice: our senses are here feasted with the clear and genuine taste of their objects; which are all sophisticated there, and for the most part overwhelmed with their contraries: here is harmless and cheap plenty; there guilty and expensive luxury.

I shall only instance one delight more, the most natural and best-natured of all others, and a perpetual companion of the husbandman; and that is the satisfaction of looking round about him, and seeing nothing but the effects and improvements of his own art and diligence; to be always gathering some fruits of it, and at the same time to behold others ripening and others budding; to see all his fields and gardens covered with the beauteous creatures of his own industry; and to see, like God, that all his works are good. . . . .

A man would think, when he is in a serious humour, that it were but a vain, irrational, and ridiculous thing for a great company of men and women to run up and down in a room together, in a hundred several postures and figures, to no purpose and with no design. Yet who is there among our gentry that does not entertain a dancing-master for his children as soon as they are able to walk? But did ever any father provide a tutor for his son, to instruct him betimes in the nature and improvements of that land which he intended to leave him?

THE SPIRIT OF OPPOSITION.—Few men ever enjoyed marked popular favour for their own merits, but out of opposition to others. The English ladies, who during the war had the bad taste to place Bonaparte's bust in their houses, did it not out of admiration for him, but out of hatred to those who were opposing him.

A MISTAKE TURNED TO ACCOUNT.—I was once dining in company with some old members of Parliament now dead, who related a number of anecdotes, of which I recollect only this:—Mr. Pitt once speaking in the House of Commons, in the early part of his career, of the glorious war which preceded the disastrous one, in which we lost the colonies, called it "the last war." Several members cried out, "the last war but one!" He took no notice, and soon after, repeating the mistake, he was interrupted by a general cry of "the last war but one! the last war but one!"—"I mean, sir," said Mr. Pitt, turning to the Speaker, and raising his sonorous voice, "I mean, sir, the last war that Britons would wish to remember;"—whereupon the cry was instantaneously changed into an universal cheering, long and loud.

FORTUNE-TELLING.

There is nothing more silly than a belief in fortune-telling, whether we consider the thing itself, or the description of persons who profess the art—an art to which no one of character or education ever pretends. But such belief is scarcely less dangerous than silly, especially amongst young persons of the humbler classes. By exciting false hopes, it leads to false steps; and unsettled habits, anxiety, disappointment, dishonesty, ruin, and untimely or ignominious death, have been directly or indirectly its consequences. Many are induced to have their fortunes told from mere idle curiosity; but a lucky guess, or a prediction accidentally verified even in part, may take such hold of the imagination that reason cannot resume her former sway—besides that it is inexcusable to give encouragement to a race of profligates, thieves, and children-stealers. A revolting instance of this encouragement is to be witnessed at Epsom races on the part of many elegantly dressed females, and the mixture causes a considerable detraction from the brilliancy of the scene. The following anecdote strikingly shows how difficult it must sometimes be to detect imposition. It will remind the readers of Hamilton's "Memoirs of De Grammont" of some passages in that work.

A little more than sixty years since, a fortune-teller in Paris was roused from his bed at the dead of night by a loud knocking at his door. On opening it he perceived standing before him a man muffled up in an ample cloak, with a large hat slouched over his face. "What do you want?" said the fortune-teller, somewhat alarmed. The stranger answered sternly, "If you are what you profess to be, you can tell me that ——" "I can tell nothing without my cards," replied the other. They both walked in, and the fortune-teller having shuffled his cards, and laid them out, after a pause, observed with a tone of deference, "I perceive I am in the presence of an illustrious person." "You are right," said the stranger; "and now tell me what it is I wish to know." The fortune-teller, again consulting his cards, answered, "You wish to know whether a certain lady will have a son or a daughter." "Right again," said the stranger. After another pause, the fortune-teller pronounced that the lady would have a son. On which the stranger replied, "If that prove true, you shall receive fifty pieces of gold—if false, a good cudgelling."

A few weeks after, about the same hour and in the same manner, the stranger reappeared, and before he could speak, the fortune-teller exclaimed, "You find I was right." "I do," said the stranger; "and I am come to keep my promise." So saying, he produced a purse of fifty louis, and departed.

The stranger's mode of proceeding seems to have been designed to put the fortune-teller's skill to the severest test. The circumstance of his coming alone, and at such an hour, makes it probable he had not communicated his intention to any one; whilst his carefulness in concealing his person and face, and his extreme caution to afford no clue to the discovery of himself or his object by conversation, were admirably calculated to render imposition impossible. The history of the case is this. I heard it about seventeen years since from a gentleman in Paris, who learned it from Volney, the celebrated traveller in the East. Volney had it from the fortune-teller himself, who applied to him for some Syriac expressions. On being asked for what purpose he wanted them, he confessed his trade; and Volney finding him a remarkably shrewd person, inquired of him the story of his life. He said, that when he was young, he had a great turn for expense, very slender means, and an inveterate repugnance to anything like drudgery. After long puzzling himself to discover some mode of life by which he could unite certain profit with continual amusement, he determined to set up as a fortune-teller.

He commenced by taking a lodging in the obscure quarter of the Marais, and practising in a small way in that neighbourhood, where the blunders of a beginner would not be of much consequence. At the same time he never failed to be in daily attendance about the court, and spared no pains to make himself familiar with the personal appearance and private history of every person of the least note there. After two years of practice amongst the small, and of study amongst the great, he thought himself qualified to begin business on a grand scale, and having by bribery of a servant procured a proper customer, he tried his art in his new scheme with great success. His fame, and of course his gains, increased rapidly, and it was when he was in his zenith that the adventure above related happened. He explained it thus.

Whilst shuffling his cards, he purposely let two or three fall, and in rising from picking them up, he contrived to catch a sufficient glimpse of the stranger's countenance to discover that he was no less a person than the Duke of Orleans, afterwards Philippe Egalité, and the father of the present King of the French, who was actually the child in question. He took not the least notice of the discovery he had made, but pretended to ascertain the fact from the contemplation of his cards. Having overcome this difficulty, his practised acuteness made the rest easy to him.

It was publicly known that the Duchess was near her confinement, and he had heard the Duke was anxious to have a son; he therefore confidently guessed the object of his visit, and after the manner of his

tribe hazarded the prediction which he thought would ensure him the most liberal pay. He did not expect the proposed alternative, which obliged him to be on his guard, and he had actually only just returned from learning the news at the palace, and was scarcely in bed, when the Duke arrived, whose faith must have been confirmed by the fortune-teller's anticipation of his intelligence.

If the story be true, it is not probable that a man like the Duke of Orleans, having experienced such an instance of fortune-telling, would be satisfied without recurring to it, and it may possibly be that such excitement of ambitious hopes contributed to his, as to Macbeth's, untimely fall.

SUCCESS IN LIFE.—If any man possessed every qualification to succeed in life, it is probable that he would remain perfectly stationary. The consciousness of his powers would tempt him to omit opportunity after opportunity to the end of his days. Those who do succeed ordinarily owe their success to some disadvantage under which they labour, and it is the struggle against a difficulty that brings faculties into play. Complaining of adverse fortune, keeps fortune adverse. A happy disposition to improve opportunities, sooner or later, I believe, never fails of success.

LOCKE'S OPINION OF THE GOSPEL.—The gospel contains so perfect a body of ethics, that reason may be excused from the inquiry, since she may find man's duty clearer and easier in revelation than in herself.—*Letter to Molyneux*, March 30th, 1696.

THE PURSE-PROUD.—Many people have a great horror of the purse-proud. I cannot say that I have; for I am always perfectly at my ease with them. It is the purse empty that I dread.

ANECDOTE OF DUNNING.—I once heard Horne Tooke relate the following anecdote illustrative of the personal appearance of Dunning, Lord Ashburton, who was the most celebrated lawyer of his day. When it was the custom for barristers to leave chambers early, and to finish their evenings at the coffee-houses in the neighbourhood of the Inns of Court, Lord Thurlow on some occasion wanted to see Dunning privately. He went to the coffee-house frequented by him, and asked a waiter if Mr. Dunning was there. The waiter, who was new in his place, said he did not know him. "Not know him!" exclaimed Thurlow, with his usual oaths: "go into the room upstairs, and, if you see any gentleman like the knave of clubs, tell him he is particularly wanted." The waiter went up, and forthwith reappeared, followed by Dunning.

ROMEO AND JULIET.

In no other writings, in any language I believe, is to be found united, in the same degree as in those of Shakspeare, the force of reality with vividness of imagination. Hogarth's paintings eminently exhibit the same qualities, but, comparatively speaking, in an extremely limited range. He descends as low as Shakspeare, but is at an immeasurable distance from him in whatever partakes of the sublime and beautiful; or rather, I think, he seldom touches on the beautiful, and never on the sublime. In what he does delineate, from the drawing-room in "Marriage-à-la-Mode" to the night-cellar in the "Stages of Cruelty," there is a truth and imagination, so far as the pencil goes, utterly unrivalled.

Shakspeare generally writes as if, by some magical art, he had conjured up the scene before him, and had only put down what his characters themselves had uttered, so faithful is it not only to nature, but to the actual circumstances. As instances of this, I will only mention the quarrel between Hotspur and Glendower over the map of England, in the "First Part of Henry the Fourth;" the dialogue between Hotspur and his wife, whilst he is thinking of his roan horse, in the same play; the scene between Hamlet and the gravedigger; and, lastly, the celebrated balcony-scene in "Romeo and Juliet," an unaccountable mistake in which, in the different editions and in the representation, suggested to me this article.

In the days of Miss O'Neill, I saw the play on twelve different occasions, and for some time it struck me that during Romeo's soliloquy that accomplished actress was always rather awkward, and at a loss to know what to do with herself, as also that the soliloquy itself was not altogether clear and applicable. As this was neither O'Neillian nor Shakspearian, I examined into the matter, and found the cause to be a mistake in the stage directions, which destroyed the beauty and propriety of the soliloquy; and in order to make it at all consistent, a transposition was made, and, if I recollect right, some omission. The misdirection runs, I believe, through all the editions, and it seems to me most extraordinary that it was never detected.

The scene arises out of the following circumstances, and its truth to nature entirely depends upon them. Romeo and Juliet fall deeply in love with each other at a ball at Juliet's father's house, where Romeo had introduced himself in mask for the purpose of seeing Juliet's cousin, for whom he entertained a very strong but unrequited passion. He is there struck with Juliet's extreme loveliness, and suddenly transfers his full-grown passion to her. She, on the other hand, has

just had marriage put into her head for the first time, and a match proposed to her by her mother, to which she answers—

"I'll look to like, if looking liking move."

In this state she is passionately addressed by the most accomplished youth in Verona, who, when he is gone, and an impression made, she discovers to be the only son of her father's deadly enemy—

"My only love sprung from my only hate."

According to the dictates of nature, her love for such an object becomes violent in proportion to the obstacles which it presents. After the ball, Romeo, riveted to the spot—

"Can I go forward, when my heart is here?"—

scales the garden-wall, and hears the volatile Mercutio making jokes on his former passion, on which he appropriately remarks—

"He jests at scars that never felt a wound;"

then observing light appear through a window, as from some one entering a room with a lamp, he exclaims—

"But, soft! what light through yonder window breaks?"

and, with a most beautiful comparison, adds—

"It is the east, and Juliet is the sun!"

Having caught the idea, and with the waning moon above him, he goes on in the true Italian style of poetry and love—

"Arise, fair sun, and kill the envious moon,
Who is already sick and pale with grief
That thou her maid art far more fair than she:
Be not her maid since she is envious;
Her vestal livery is but sick and green,
And none but fools do wear it;—cast it off."

At the conclusion of this passage, Juliet advances to the balcony, and not as in the books and on the stage, before the words—

"But, soft! what light through yonder window breaks?"

In the representation, after this last line, is introduced, out of its place—

"It is my lady; O it is my love!
O that she knew she were!"

In short, the whole of this beautiful soliloquy is made into what I can only adequately express by using the familiar phrase, "a complete hash." As soon as Romeo sees his conjecture realized, he rapturously exclaims—

"It is my lady; O it is my love!
O that she knew she were!"

And the rest of his observations are naturally called forth by Juliet's as natural actions. The remainder of the soliloquy peculiarly illustrates what I have said respecting Shakspeare's art in conjuring up the scene; and though this tragedy is not amongst his highest, I consider it as one of his most extraordinary and beautiful efforts.

I think it is Aristotle who says, when we are thinking of what is past, we look downwards, and when of what is to come, upwards. I suppose Juliet to enter the balcony with downcast look, in deep thought on what had passed between herself and Romeo. At length, with some exclamation dying on her lip, she slowly raises her eyes, as if to read in the stars her future fate; on all of which Romeo, who is intently watching her, minutely comments as follows—

> "She speaks—yet she says nothing. What of that?
> Her eye discourses; I will answer it.—
> I am too bold—'tis not to me she speaks."

When her eye moves upwards to his level, he is on the point of advancing; but when it reaches the stars, he checks himself with a lover's diffidence, and then breaks out into a lover's rhapsody—

> "Two of the fairest stars in all the heaven,
> Having some business, do entreat her eyes
> To twinkle in their spheres till they return.
> What if her eyes were there, they in her head?
> The brightness of her cheek would shame those stars,
> As daylight doth a lamp; her eyes in heaven
> Would through the airy region stream so bright,
> That birds would sing, and think it were not night."

In her inquietude of mind, Juliet here changes her position, which calls forth from Romeo the well-known gallant passage—

> "See, how she leans her cheek upon her hand!
> O that I were a glove upon that hand,
> That I might touch that cheek!"

At length Juliet, seeing no end to her perplexity, exclaims in despair, "Ah me!" on which Romeo waits all attentive, and then falls into another rhapsody—

> "She speaks!
> O, speak again, bright angel! for thou art
> As glorious to this night, being o'er my head,
> As is a winged messenger of heaven
> Unto the white, upturned, wond'ring eyes
> Of mortals, that fall back to gaze on him,
> When he bestrides the lazy-pacing clouds
> And sails upon the bosom of the air."

Here, interrupted by Juliet's exclamations, ends this famous soliloquy, to the mangled, and as it seems to me only half-understood beauties of which I have endeavoured to render justice. If I have

succeeded where so many others have failed, it is entirely owing to the spirit I imbibed from so frequently witnessing the performance of the accomplished actress I have already mentioned. She illuminated her author with her loveliness, and gave a purer taste and more accurate perception to her auditors—at least to those who had taste and perception capable of improvement.

It is a curious fact with respect to the passages immediately following the soliloquy, that the impassioned fancies of a love-sick girl should have furnished part of the common currency of our language. "O Romeo, Romeo! wherefore art thou Romeo?" and "What's in a name?" are phrases of every-day use.

Throughout the scene Juliet's character is full of beautiful touches. Her anxiety, in the first instance, for Romeo's safety whilst in her father's garden, her curiosity to know how he found out the place, her full and ingenuous confession in return for his avowal of love, her protest that she should have been more strange, but that he overheard, ere she was aware, her true love's passion, her repugnance to any oath, her misgiving as to so sudden and unadvised a contract, her hope that it might prove fortunate, her expression of conscious innocence, her profession of boundless attachment, follow each other beautifully and succinctly.

But the poet's most artful touch is the causing her at this juncture to be summoned down to her mother, which must be supposed to be for the purpose of saying something to her respecting her intended marriage; and this introduces the decisive step—as the only means of preventing her fate—of stealing back, and thus addressing her lover:—

> "If that thy bent of love be honourable,
> Thy purpose marriage, send me word to-morrow,
> By one I will procure to come to thee,
> Where and what time thou wilt perform the rite,
> And all my fortunes at thy foot I'll lay,
> And follow thee, my lord, throughout the world."

This passage was exquisitely delivered by Miss O'Neill, as well as the pathetic appeal which follows amidst the interruption of another summons—

> "But if thou mean'st not well, I do beseech
> Thee, cease thy suit, and leave me to my grief."

Her second return, and lingering, artless fondness close the scene with the same truth and beauty which pervade the whole, and stand unrivalled.

I have entered into this detailed criticism principally with a view to endeavour to rescue the lovely Juliet from the disfavour with which

she is looked upon by ladies. They seem to consider her as a traitress to the dignity and delicacy of their sex, and speak of her almost as they would of a girl who should ask a gentleman at Almack's or a race-ball, whom she had never seen or heard of before, to marry her the next morning.

But Shakspeare was no such bungler, either in choosing his ground-work, or in filling it up. He took an extreme case, and he has treated it with that extreme art, which requires study of the author himself, instead of a garbled representation, to comprehend and appreciate.

Juliet, with a mind prepared, was addressed by Romeo with the energy of a ripened passion. When she discovered who he was, his reputation was already known to her, and she found in a fancied object of hatred one worthy of all her devotion. Chance discovered her secret, which she was not overstepping the bounds of delicacy in uttering to herself in darkness and imagined solitude, and it was not till Romeo had responded to her passion that she made a full confession. Necessity urged her at a critical moment to take that decisive step, which, under any other circumstances, would have been revolting, and "the mask of night," and the security of her situation, gave a tone of delicacy to her interview with Romeo, which would have been wanting in any other combination of time and place.

It is singular that among the many representations on canvas of Juliet in the balcony, there is not one that is successful. The late Mr. Dawe, the royal academician, painted Miss O'Neill in this scene, but with no adequate expression, and with so little understanding of his subject, as to introduce a lamp suspended over her head.

In one of my letters from the Continent (see page 121), I have stated that I prolonged my stay at Florence to attend a ball at an Italian villa, for the purpose of better understanding Romeo and Juliet, by which the reader will perceive that I have omitted no means of enabling myself to speak from knowledge of my subject.

Since writing the above, I am more convinced than before that Juliet is to be supposed to be summoned by the nurse to her mother respecting her proposed marriage with Paris, who had been a guest at the ball, and that she is also to be supposed to have contrived an excuse to return for a moment, her previous joyousness changed into haste and trepidation, for the purpose of communicating her sudden resolve, as her only resource in her extremity. Her second return seems to be in consequence of her having unexpectedly got rid of further interruption; and her mind being restored to ease, her playfulness is beautifully contrasted with her preceding agitation. I apprehend the whole scene admits of much more scope for acting than has ever been supposed, and I am not aware of any other instance of such a variety of feeling being displayed in the same space.

HORRORS OF WAR.

The letter from which the annexed extract is made came accidentally into my hands. It is from an officer to his brother-in-law. Having shown it to a friend of mine, it appeared in the *Times* newspaper, in 1830, with the following preface:—"Though the following extract refers to an event of no very recent date, yet there is something so characteristic in its military bluntness and simplicity, and so impressive in its powerful but unaffected description of the horrors of war, that our readers will, we dare say, not think their time wasted in perusing it.

"Camp near Bhurtpore, Feb. 7, 1826.

"The Jauts profess to neither give nor receive quarter, and the most horrible sight I ever saw was the following day of the storm: I went round the walls, and found five or six thousand of the garrison lying dead—the artillerymen under their guns, which they had never thought of quitting—the sepoys strewed in every direction, so as to make it difficult to pass without treading on a body. A soldier's blood by this time is as cool as yours, Jack, and you may judge of my feelings by your own, when I tell you that at each gateway there were five or six hundred carcasses, lying one upon another in all the attitudes of death you can imagine a human being to exhibit on such an occasion; and as in sudden death the countenance retains the expression of the last moments of feeling, you might read defiance, fear, resignation, and fury in the same assemblage. The expression of agony and pain was beyond description. These gallant soldiers wore a dress made like an Englishwoman's warm winter pelisse, of two pieces of coloured calico, and stuffed with raw cotton and quilted, which garment was intended to serve the double purpose of warmth and armour, as a sword would not cut through. In consequence, when our people came in close contact with them at those gateways where the enemy could retreat no further, their dress caught fire, and as hundreds fell one upon the other many were burnt both of the wounded and the dead. I was so horror-struck that I could have knelt down, resigned my commission, and forsworn war in all its circumstances; and I am not very squeamish either, for I have seen many horrible sights in my time, but none like this."

IGNORANCE.—Ignorant people conduct themselves towards any new institution, as cows in a field towards a recently erected rubbing-post. First they are suspicious and alarmed, and stare at a distance; by degrees they approach, and make their awkward attack; and lastly, they quietly put it to its use.

[THE POETRY OF SCIENCE.]

I have ventured to insert the following, which was first published in *Fraser's Magazine*, in 1849. I have endeavoured to improve it by curtailments, changes, and additions. It was a review of "The Poetry of Science; or, Studies of the Physical Phenomena of Nature. By Robert Hunt, Keeper of Mining Records at the Museum of Practical Geology." His own words, equally instinct with poetry as with science, are distinguished by marks of quotation :—

Do what you will, use what instrument you please, you cannot drive Nature out of the human heart. She will return to it again like the bird to its nest. And Poetry is Nature, as truly as Reason or Conscience. Reason bears witness to the actual and the true; Conscience to the fitting and the right; Imagination to the beautiful, the awful, and the possible. Rob man of reason, and he is without a guide; of conscience, and he is without a prompter; of imagination, and you condemn him to a barren and cheerless existence on earth, and deprive him of the faculty by which he realizes an unseen future; for religion is the highest poetry, and without imagination could find no entrance into the human heart.

For us angelic existence is an eternity of pure poetry; and the awful change which fits man for communion with angels and spirits consists in dissolving that gross framework of matter which now drags down, cripples, and defiles the pure subtle workings of the poetic fire.

But in this mortal state, "prisoner of earth, and pent beneath the moon," Poetry must work with such poor materials as she can find. The visible and the tangible are about her, and from these she must distil her nectared sweets, weave her garment of many colours, and rear her airy mansion.

Our present business is with Poetry as the associate and ally of Science; our present object to moot the question, Whether the pursuit of science is or is not favourable to the culture and growth of poetry?

The simple fact that poetry has survived steam-engines, gas-works, water-works, railroads, and electric telegraphs, and breaks forth into song amid the very whirl and clatter of the factory, is a sufficient answer to the question if it refer to the practical applications of science; but if it relate to the more recondite inquiries in which science especially delights, then is the answer still more conclusive; for philosophy and poetry have too often dwelt in harmony together to be suspected of antagonism. The names of Haller, Jenner, Davy, Goethe, occur at once to our recollection as those of men who found the pursuit of science by no means incompatible with devotion to the muse; to say

nothing of those who, like Sir Charles Bell and Sir John Herschel, have exhibited, in the graces of their prose compositions, all the attributes of the true poet.

The philosophic and the poetic mind and temperament, indeed, have marked analogies. An abiding sense of the beautiful, the awful, and the mysterious, is an element in both. The same emotions that stir to its lowest depths the soul of the poet, shake the mind of the philosopher. The highest achievements of poetry, and the most comprehensive discoveries of science have much in common. A close observation of nature and a subtle generalization of natural phenomena are always to be found at the core of the poet's most successful creations. In like manner, if closely analysed, "scientific insight" will be found to be of the true essence of poetry.

Had Shakspeare been a philosopher, Ariel had been a force; had Newton been a poet, the theory of universal gravitation would have been embodied in a form of surpassing power and loveliness. Prospero is Science personified, ruling over brute forces ever ripe for revolt, and commanding the willing services of the powers of nature; Science still resembles the solitary master of Caliban and Ariel, with the wand of a magician, the benevolence of an angel, the humility of a servant, and the sublime sadness of a mortal agent wielding delegated forces. This sadness, this moody melancholy, this overwhelming sense of insignificance, waging painful war with the consciousness of a high destiny, which forms so essential a characteristic of the true poet, is it not also an element in the character of the true philosopher?

> "We are such stuff
> As dreams are made of, and our little life
> Is rounded with a sleep,"

breathes the same spirit of sadness as Newton's retrospect of a life:—"I know not what the world will think of my labours, but to myself it seems that I have been but as a child playing on the sea-shore; now finding some pebble rather more polished, and now some shell rather more agreeably variegated than another, while the immense ocean of truth extended itself unexplored before me."

This parallel between the poetic and philosophic temperaments admits of being drawn out to great length. It is merely glanced at here as an answer, in part, to the question—Is the pursuit of science favourable to the culture and growth of poetry? The inquiry is too interesting to be dropped at this point; and we are the more disposed to pursue it further, because it does certainly link itself to an analogous question,—Is the march of scientific knowledge, and of scientific adaptation to practice, favourable or otherwise to that highest exercise of the poetic faculty—adoration of a Supreme Being? Propound these

questions to intelligent and thinking men, and a fair proportion would answer them, if not in the negative, at least doubtfully. There is certainly a misgiving as to the tendency of science in both directions; some fearing lest it should destroy the charm of this life, others that it may weaken the belief in a future existence.

Those who entertain the most sanguine and favourable views of the influence of science on the human mind, will probably be ready to admit that, though it may not destroy poetry, or impair the sentiment of religion, it must work a revolution in the sources of emotion. It may not affect the force of the current, but it must change its direction. The spring must have a deeper source, if not a larger volume. Science, which looks from the surfaces and shows of things to their substance and essence, if it conduce to poetry, must supply the poet with new materials. Are they such materials as he can work with? We must narrow this question before we can answer it. We must first eliminate all the sources of emotion which science leaves untouched, and then examine those which are likely to be dried up or turned aside by its searching inquiries.

In the first place, it is evident that science does in no way interfere with that inexhaustible well-spring of poetry, the human heart. Its affections, emotions, and passions remain, in these utilitarian days, much what they were before the flood. If some objects of interest and attachment have been replaced by others, poetry has certainly gained by the exchange. Covetousness, for instance, which displayed itself of old only by the hoarding of money and objects of barter, may now embody itself in the library, the gallery, or the museum, which have in them less of selfishness, and more of the elements of poetry. Again, in spite of the levelling and disfiguring effect of railroads, the fair face of nature beams on us with all its pristine beauty; and the iron intruder, who has scared away the deities and nymphs of many a rural scene, makes ample amends in the speed with which he bears us to their more favoured haunts; while many a spot which nature has left barren and unattractive has been endowed by art with structures which make no mean amends for the absence of rural beauty. The heavens above us, though here and there overcast by the clouds and vapours of our crowded cities, remain unchanged; while the sublime immensity of the ocean swells with the idea of a growing and expanding usefulness, an ever-widening revelation of the beauties and riches of far distant lands.

Out of these two perennial sources of poetic emotion, man and nature, there may be said to grow a Poetry of Interpretation. All men are prone to interpret the things they see, to trace effects to their causes, to explain phenomena by the light of preconceived notions

or pre-existing knowledge. Nature interpreted in the first of these ways, may be said to constitute the Poetry of Ignorance. Not that downright barbarous ignorance has in it any element of true poetry. To the mere savage the sense of beauty which constitutes one source of poetic ideas, and the awe which lays the foundation for the other, are wholly wanting. There is nothing of the sublime and beautiful in his composition. Some barbarous tribes have not been able to rise to the conception of a Deity; while among others, in whom a mysterious sense of a Supreme Being does exist, it is either in so elementary a form, or linked to such barbarous and degrading superstitions, as to yield no element of true poetry. It is, therefore, in an intermediate state, between the night of utter barbarism and the dawn of civilization, that this poetry of ignorance is to be sought for. The ignorance here spoken of is rather ignorance of the true nature and causes of things, than that of human beings leading a life of slothful sensuality, in which hunger is the only stimulus and bare existence the only care. The North American Indians furnish an illustration of the sort of ignorance of which we are speaking. The two great occupations of their lives, hunting and war, have exercised and trained their senses, and those faculties of the mind most closely connected with them to a degree of acuteness highly favourable to the unwritten poetry of eloquence. Written language, and that progress in the arts which attends the assembling of mankind in large cities, without any insight into science properly so called, would convert this lofty eloquence into the written poetry of the epic, redolent of the strong passions and stirring actions which war provokes and sustains. Such a combination of favourable circumstances gave birth to Homer; a somewhat more advanced stage of civilization was required to produce a Shakspeare; and the substitution of the religious for the warlike sentiment, a Milton. Times of strong excitement and vigorous action are naturally the most favourable to the higher flights of poetry. The mind of Milton was formed during a period of civil war; and the Greek tragedians lived in an age of action. Profound and long-continued peace, on the other hand, must be unfavourable to the more vigorous exercises of the poetic faculty. The epic poem, the lofty tragedy, and the impassioned eloquence of the Forum then give place to sonnets, and melodramas, and speeches full of the dry details of statistics. In place of the poetry of earnest minds, trained by action or bred of the active spirit of their times, we have philosophy blowing its unsubstantial bubbles; and this calming down of men's minds, even without undue attention to scientific pursuits, or marked progress in practical inventions, would account for the disappearance or decay of poetry.

The question, therefore, which we have before us is not a simple one. If it admit of an answer, it must be one drawn rather from the nature of the case than from an appeal to the facts of the time. Is it, then, in the nature of things that the progress of science should be the decadence of poetry? We are inclined to answer in the affirmative, because science will infallibly destroy the poetry of ignorant and false interpretation. It will not indeed affect our appreciation of the poetry of past generations, but it must exercise a very important influence on the poet of the future, by depriving him of many of the choicest materials of his predecessors. Comets, eclipses, meteors; ghosts, fairies, witches; oracles, miracles, and the awful tricks of the heathen temples; sylphs, gnomes, salamanders, basilisks, and undines; the grand personifications of the Greeks, and the thirty thousand gods of the Romans, have ceased to create in us emotions of affection, admiration, or terror. The cloud on the mountain top no longer shapes itself into a gigantic form, striking fear into the stoutest heart; the meteor of the graveyard refuses to embody itself as the ghost of the departed dead; the whistling of the wind and the rustling of trees have ceased to utter articulate sentences; and even the earthquake and the tempest are more terrible in their effects than in their immediate cause. The lightning-rod which extracts electricity from the cloud draws off with it, not merely the mystery that wrapped itself in its threatening form, but part of the terror which in any case it is fitted to inspire.

Nor does science, by its practical adaptations, replace the elements of poetry which it has destroyed. The modern science of war, with its destructive agencies and irresistible forces, is less fruitful in the elements of poetry than the old hand-to-hand combat, which centred the interests of armies in the heroic prowess of angry chiefs. It would task the genius of Homer himself to make a good poetic hero out of the Duke of Wellington or Herr Moltke. The march of invention has converted the hero of a hundred fights into a cautious calculator of chances,—a player of a game of chess, with the battle-field for his board, and men for his pieces. It is true that when we take the trouble to reflect, we see at once the vast superiority of the modern to the ancient hero; but that very reflection is destructive of poetry, which is a thing of impulse and intuition, not of conviction. To get poetry out of battles we must invoke the personal element. It is not the victory with all its momentous consequences that fires the fancy, but the hero's corpse buried where he fell, at Corunna or Quebec, or borne with measured step and sombre splendour to its last resting place in the Abbey or St. Paul's.

So, also, with inventions of a more peaceful kind. The sailing-

vessel, at the mercy of the winds and waves, has ten times as much poetry in it as the dark steamer, confronting the forces of nature with the giant strength of scientific mechanism. The horse and his rider, the coach and prancing steeds, have more of life, and therefore more of poetry in them, than the railroad with all its power and speed. The solitary messenger, with his important missive, spurring his horse covered with foam to the desired goal, and arriving at the critical moment, after a thousand petty obstacles and difficulties have been overcome, is far more favourable to poetry than the express train running at the greatest measured speed ever yet attained. The very figures spoil the poetry of the thing. The electric telegraph, again, is very wonderful; but we are too much in the secret of the invention to extract the materials of poetry out of it. Even the wholesale destruction of human life seems to affect us less when brought about by causes we entirely understand, than when attended with circumstances savouring of mystery. Hence it happens that railway accidents, and steamboat collisions, and wholesale suffocations inflicted by man's own ignorance and carelessness, though they fill us with indignation and horror, do not excite poetic emotions. We know too much about the causes which have produced them. So with the still more modern invention of photography. The sun (sole source of light, and heat, and life) seems to humble himself when he takes up the trades of painter, engraver, and servile copyist; and the poetry that links itself to the central thought slips away in presence of the camera, the chemicals, and the manifold utilities of the invention. Or take, as a last illustration, the most startling revelations of statistics or social science. That the figures which record such events as births, deaths, and marriages should recur year by year with strange approach to regularity is among the most wonderful of our modern discoveries. But figures of arithmetic refuse to lend themselves to the plastic requirements of poetry.

We cannot, therefore, conceal from ourselves the truth, unwelcome though it be, that science and the march of invention do tend to destroy many of the elements of poetry. But have they anything to offer in the way of compensation? Let us take a striking example:—

"The heavens declare the glory of God: and the firmament sheweth His handywork. One day telleth another: and one night certifieth another. There is neither speech nor language: but their voices are heard among them. Their sound is gone out into all lands: and their words into the ends of the world. In them hath He set a tabernacle for the sun: which cometh forth as a bridegroom out of his chamber, and rejoiceth as a giant to run his course. It goeth forth from the uttermost part of the heaven, and runneth about unto the end of it again: and there is nothing hid from the heat thereof."

Such is the language of poetry, full of personification, and suggestive of images of beauty, and joy, and strength. The earth turning on its axis at the rate of more than 1000 miles an hour, and revolving round the sun with a speed of upwards of 68,000 miles in the same time; the earth and the other planets of our system under the stern compulsion of two opposed forces, moving in curves around the same common centre; the entire system—sun, planets, and satellites—bound by some mystic chain to an undiscovered centre, and moving toward a point in space at the rate of 33,550,000 geographical miles, whilst our earth is performing a single revolution round the sun; the earth, "rocking regularly upon a point round which it rapidly revolves, whilst it progresses onward in its orbit, like some huge top in tremulous gyration upon the deck of a vast aërial ship gliding rapidly through space;" and all this progress of worlds taking place with a velocity and impetus which, if "the powers of the physical forces were for a moment suspended, would be sufficient to scatter the mass of our planet over space as a mere star-dust;" and yet, so long as these forces continue to act in harmony, in such sort as that "the delicate down which rests so lightly upon the flower is undisturbed;"—such is the language of Science, toiling after poetic forms of expression, but with scant success. There is too much of the balance, the compass, and the plummet; too much of detail, too many figures, to produce a true poetic impression on the mind. The idea of the calculator seems ever striving to mix itself up with the thought of the first Great Cause; and the poetical result is altogether disproportioned to the gigantic forces in operation.

We take another example. "The enchanted horse of the Arabian magician, and the magic carpet of the German sorcerer, were poor contrivances compared with the copper wires of the electrician, by which all the difficulties of time and the barriers of space appear to be overcome;" and yet the "whispers of love or messages of destruction," or warrants of apprehension, transmitted by that arch enchanter, Professor Wheatstone, by that "tricksy spirit" of his, travelling at the rate of 576,000 miles in a second of time, take us by surprise rather than fill us with poetic emotions. There is too much of the conjuror in these achievements of the professor. These copper wires are better conductors of electricity than of poetry. It is all very surprising, but human invention has too much to do with it, and man is too apt to be glorified by it. The invention is human, the calculations are human. The more ingenious the one, and the more profound the other, the more certainly is the mind led off from the first Great Cause to the ingenious adapter who has succeeded in pressing matter and force into his service.

This, then, would seem to be the true bearing of Science on Poetry.

The path from scientific discovery and practical invention to the great Author and Giver of the powers of nature is apt to be overlaid and overlooked. It is more easy "to look through Nature up to Nature's God," than through Science. But the mind once turned in this direction, it is indisputable that science affords ample and unrivalled materials for pious and truly poetic reflection. If this view of its true tendency were practically acted on, then would every new observation in "natural science" add a page to that "great didactic poem," and every addition to the "philosophy of physical science" swell the majestic march of that "grand epic;" the visible creation brought into bolder relief by closer observation would become the well-spring of a poetry rich in the elements of the beautiful, and the more recondite truths of science in the material of that higher poetry which has the sublime for its basis. Meanwhile a new source of poetic feeling will be opened out in the ever-growing appreciation of the Power which has endowed the human mind with faculties capable of penetrating so many mysteries, and of adapting the inexhaustible materials and irresistible forces of creation to the growing wants and multifarious purposes of mankind.

INSOLENCE.—Many people are dreadfully shocked at anything like insolence. It does not affect me at all; but I have a horror of servility. The former often partakes of the nature of independence; the latter always of that of meanness. I do not mind a man not taking off his hat to me; but one that will not put it on, in spite of all I can say, is a great annoyance. I do not dislike a little vanity; it is ever an ingredient in the composition of agreeableness. But humility makes me shudder, as being a sort of reptile that I am always afraid of treading upon; besides, like many other reptiles, it is very venomous at times. There is a sweetish, pulpy manner, which I have observed uniformly covers, both in men and women, a bitter kernel. What I most depend upon is a sort of slow, substantial, John Bullish civility.

FALSE ESTIMATES.—Ordinary men are often ruined by an overestimate of their own powers; extraordinary men are kept back by the opposite error. They calculate remote difficulties instead of advancing to them; and if they trusted to their resources, they would find no obstacle to be insurmountable.

NATIONAL CHARACTERISTICS.—It has been well said by I know not whom, that an Englishman is never happy, but when he is miserable; that a Scotchman is never at home, but when he is abroad; that an Irishman is never at peace, but when he is at war.

YOUTH AND AGE.

There is a paper in the *Spectator*, No. 449, descriptive of the devoted attentions of a lovely female in the bloom of youth to her decrepit father. This paper has frequently been the subject of unqualified commendation. It is one of Steele's, and, like most of his, is in my opinion very inferior, both in judgment and taste, to those of Addison. Parental and filial affection are reciprocal duties, but, like all other duties, they ought to be kept within the bounds of reason. Where they are not, they savour more of vanity and selfishness than of that true good feeling, which is to be depended upon under all circumstances.

Parents who are unboundedly wrapped up in their children, are apt, if disappointed by them in their views, to become unreasonably unforgiving, though perhaps that disappointment is principally owing to their own injudicious indulgence. They blind themselves to the real nature of their fondness, and then suffer their feelings to be embittered by what they conceive to be the height of ingratitude; and the same false species of attachment often leads them to sacrifice the true welfare of their offspring to the suggestions of avarice or ambition.

In the same manner, I do not think unmeasured devotion on the part of children so much to be depended upon, as that in which there is a reasonable portion of self-consideration—or rather, I apprehend, there is self-consideration in disguise, and proceeding from an unsure foundation.

In the case described by Steele, far too much is given up, and I should be apprehensive that in real life the assiduities of an accomplished lover might tempt the lady to pass from one extreme to the other—at any rate, I should have more confidence in a female, who set out by distinguishing how much was due to her father, and how much to herself. A feeling of total devotion is somewhat dangerous, because, if it changes at all, it is probable it will be wholly transferred; and as love in its nature is much stronger than filial affection, the chances against the latter would, in the long-run, be fearful. But it is otherwise where the strongest feeling is yielded to, but in such manner that the weaker ones may have place, in their proper order. Then is the best security that each will be permanently and duly acted up to. For instance, love, filial affection, and friendship may exercise at the same time their respective influences; but any attempt to invert the order except temporarily, is against the laws of nature, the force of which has a constant tendency to recur.

It is to my mind extremely revolting to see the enjoyments proper to the season of youth remorselessly sacrificed to the selfishness of

age—to see a young person indefinitely withering under a slavish attendance for the performance of those services which might be equally well rendered with no personal privation, and this, too, under the mask of affection—under a pretence of being unable to bear the ministration of any other hand. It is a sacrifice which a well-constituted mind would not only not require, but would not permit: and any parent, with a proper feeling for a child, would rather reverse the practice, and study how least to let age and infirmity interfere with the enjoyments and interests of youth.

"As long as I live, think only of me," is detestable. The true doctrine is, "Whilst you requite my tenderness, do not let me feel that the few years I have to remain, exercise any baneful influence on the many you may hope to enjoy." It would be unnatural in an only daughter to give way to an attachment which would lead to an entire separation from an aged and infirm parent; but it is equally, or more unnatural in a parent to oppose an advantageous alliance, which would admit the fulfilment, in reasonable proportions, both of conjugal and filial duties—besides that, to witness the satisfactory establishment of a child ought to carry a consolation with it, incomparably beyond the selfish pleasure of a monopoly of attentions.

Devotion, such as that described by Steele, however easy, or even pleasurable at first, cannot, when indefinitely continued, but become somewhat irksome both in practice and in reflection, which feeling will of necessity, more or less, mix itself up with the object; whereas a reasonable mean, which does not exclude other sentiments, may go on without the slightest diminution, and every attention from first to last may be a genuine offering of the heart. It is good that this should be reciprocally borne in mind, as an additional reason why too much should not be required, nor too much undertaken. The extreme of devotion has generally, I apprehend, part of its foundation in a feeling of self-importance and a love of applause, which part, after a time, is likely a little to give way, unless strengthened by the accession of pride. In this, as in all things, a reasonable beginning is likely to have a reasonable end.

PUNCTUALITY.—If you desire to enjoy life avoid unpunctual people. They impede business and poison pleasure. Make it your own rule not only to be punctual, but a little beforehand. Such a habit secures a composure which is essential to happiness. For want of it many people live in a constant fever, and put all about them into a fever too. To prevent the tediousness of waiting for others, carry with you some means of occupation—a Horace or Rochefoucauld, for example; books which can be read by snatches, and which afford ample materials for thinking.

THE EVE OF BATTLE.

"The Emperor kept the watch in the midst of his brave men. The night presented a remarkable spectacle:—two armies, the one of which extended its front upon a line of six hours' march, filled the air with its lights; in the other the lights seemed to be brought into one small point; and in the one, as well as in the other, all was watchfulness and motion. The lights of the two armies were at half cannon-shot distance respectively; the sentinels were almost touching, and there was not a single motion on either side which could not be heard by the other."

The above passage, cut out of a newspaper, is part of Bonaparte's bulletin of the battle, I believe, of Auerstadt. I give it for its resemblance to the beginning of Shakspeare's Chorus to the Fourth Act of Henry the Fifth. The bulletin was fresh from the reality; and it makes me believe that the poet's description must have been taken from some chronicle, or from some military writer.

Indeed I have often thought, that much of what is ordinarily attributed to imagination is rather the result of a talent for happily appropriating what has been seen or heard, or read, and that Shakspeare possessed this talent in a more eminent degree than any other person in any age or country. Notwithstanding his imperfect education, he has interwoven classical and scriptural lore into his works with more skill and beauty than Milton, or any of the most learned writers, and often in a manner nearly imperceptible. It is my belief that those who trust much to imagination and little to observation, will never make a lasting impression on mankind. Imagination, I think, can properly do little else than more or less vividly colour outlines taken from reality, and I doubt that even Ariel and Caliban are altogether exceptions.

I subjoin the greater part of the Chorus, on account of other resemblances, besides those in its beginning, to the extract from the bulletin. In the first place, Henry and Bonaparte are equally represented as keeping the watch in the midst of their men. Secondly, the presence of the hero of Agincourt is made to produce the same re-animating effect which the Duke of Wellington's produced upon his fainting troops towards the conclusion of the battle of Waterloo; and lastly, Bonaparte's apprehension through the night lest the English should be gone, as mentioned by General Gourgaud, and the exclamation attributed to him when he saw them in the morning—"Now I have these English dogs!"—find a parallel in the national feeling described by Shakspeare. Dr. Johnson, whose strength did not lie in poetical

criticism, coldly says of these choruses, "The lines given to the chorus have many admirers; but the truth is, that in them a little may be praised and much must be forgiven."

* * * *

"From camp to camp, through the foul womb of night,
The hum of either army stilly sounds
That the fix'd sentinels almost receive
The secret whispers of each other's watch.
Fire answers fire; and through their paly flames
Each battle sees the other's umber'd face. . . . .
Proud of their numbers, and secure in soul,
The confident and over-lusty French
Do the low-rated English play at dice;
And chide the cripple tardy-gaited night,
Who, like a foul and ugly witch, doth limp
So tediously away. The poor condemned English,
Like sacrifices, by their watchful fires
Sit patiently, and inly ruminate
The morning's danger. . . . .
. . . . O, now, who will behold
The royal captain of this ruin'd band
Walking from watch to watch, from tent to tent,
Let him cry—Praise and glory on his head!
For forth he goes and visits all his host;
Bids them good-morrow with a modest smile,
And calls them—brothers, friends, and countrymen.
Upon his royal face there is no note,
How dread an army hath enrounded him;
Nor doth he dedicate one jot of colour
Unto the weary and all-watched night;
But freshly looks and overbears attaint
With cheerful semblance and sweet majesty;
That every wretch, pining and pale before,
Beholding him, plucks comfort from his looks." . . . .

ORNAMENT.—Nature is the true guide in our application of ornament. She delights in it, but ever in subserviency to use. Men generally pursue an opposite course, and adorn only to encumber. With the refined few, simplicity is the feature of greatest merit in ornament. The trifling, the vulgar-minded, and the ignorant, prize only what is striking and costly—something showy in contrast, and difficult to be obtained. Nothing can more severely, or more truly satirize this taste, than the fancy of the Negro chief in the interior of Africa, who received an Englishman's visit of ceremony in a drummer's jacket and a judge's wig. I always think of this personage, when I see a lady loaded with jewels; and if I had a wife, and she had such encumbrances, from the anxiety of which I saw no other chance of her being relieved, I should heartily rejoice in one of those mysterious disappearances, which have been so frequent of late, and which, it may be, have sometimes originated in a feeling, on the part of husbands, similar to mine.

PRIZE FIGHTS.

There was a time when pugilistic prize-fights had many advocates, and some of high authority, as tending to promote courage, manly feeling, and a love of fair play. Having long had a wish to judge with my own eyes of the effect of these strictly national exhibitions, I availed myself of an opportunity several years since to go to one, which promised all the advantages of high patronage and first-rate bruisers.

A field, somewhere near Hounslow Heath, was selected for the scene of action. There was a great concourse of spectators, from the highest ranks, one of whom acted as timekeeper, down to the very lowest, and every variety of equipage, from the barouche-and-four to the donkey-cart. I could not help admiring the judgment and order with which everything was managed. The inner ring was appropriated to the combatants, and their seconds and bottle-holders; and the outer to the principal patrons of "the Fancy," and the select, who were to lie down on the grass when the fight was actually going on. Beyond them was a circle of persons on foot, then the carriages, and, on the outside of all, the trees were filled with spectators, so that the greatest possible number could see without obstruction.

When everything was arranged, and the combatants were preparing, two magistrates, attended by only a couple of constables, made their appearance, and entered into a conference with the chief manager, during which there was perfect peace, though a manifestation of great anxiety. The conference ended in the magistrates and their officers retiring; and then the manager gave a signal for dispersion, which was instantly obeyed.

Whatever disgrace boxing-matches may be thought to reflect on our national character, I thought this movement a proud testimonial the other way, as being a stronger instance than I could have conceived, of prompt obedience to the laws, and of respect to authority; and I do not believe the like would have been exhibited in any other country in the world. There was every motive to excite resistance. All had paid, and rather dearly, for admission into the field; they had had the trouble of finding themselves situations, for which some had paid a further sum; there was great force on one side, and, comparatively, none on the other; there were some men who might think themselves almost above control on such occasions, and others at all times most ready to throw it off; the illegality of such assemblages was by no means universally admitted; their object had many defenders, and interference at that critical moment had somewhat the appearance of being vexatious. Yet, notwithstanding this combination

of reasons, the motley multitude departed as passively as if before an overwhelming force, and, indeed more so; for there was even no expression of disapprobation.

I attribute this curious result to two causes: first, in spite of his office, to the great personal respectability and singular propriety of behaviour of the chief manager, or commander-in-chief, as he was technically called; and secondly, to that inborn habit of obedience to authority, which is one of the most beneficial and admirable effects of our free institutions. It is the true spirit of our citizen government, which no neglect ever destroyed, and which can never be changed for any other spirit, except for a worse. This spirit, acted upon by personal influence, exhibits government in its most beautiful point of view; and it is the system which statesmen ought especially to foster, though now unfortunately there is a tendency in a different direction.

No sooner was the signal given, than there was a general break-up, which presented rather a remarkable appearance. The heavier carriages crowded towards the gate, whilst horse and foot, and many of the light vehicles, made their way through the hedges, and spread themselves over the country, to re-unite, according to the directions given, as they could, in a gravel pit close to the Uxbridge road. There no molestation was offered.

I admired the excessive care and delicacy with which the combatants were prepared for action. Each second knelt on his right knee, whilst the man whom he backed sat upon his left thigh, apparently helpless, with his arm supported on the second's shoulders, and lighter shoes were put on, and every necessary act performed in a manner that would have done honour to the most accomplished lady's maid.

When the men were ready to set-to, I admired also their condition, their courage, and their good-humour, as well as the intense attention of the assembly.

Whilst the fighting is apart, there is nothing very revolting; but the closing, with which each round generally ends, and the falling together, sometimes over the rope which forms the ring, is an exhibition of unmixed brutality and debasement; as indeed is the whole affair, as soon as the combatants become exhausted in everything but their courage. They then appear like drunken men, butchering one another, without much consciousness of what they are doing; and my conclusion at the end of the combat, which lasted almost an hour, was, that prize-fighting is a barbarous practice, altogether deserving the fate it seems nearly to have met with.

Whenever the men fell, or were knocked down, they lay as if they were dead; and they were raised, seated, their wounds sponged, lemon applied to their lips, or a little wine given them, with the same care

and nicety which I have described to have been used in preparing them for the combat. This extreme gentleness, contrasted with the other parts of the scene, was very striking. The object is, to prevent the slightest waste of strength in making any exertion which can be avoided; and the expediency was apparent, when the exhaustion became so great that a feather would have almost turned the scale either way.

As a specimen of some of the component parts of the assembly, I have a lively recollection of the following circumstance. Whilst preparations were making for the fight, I took out a pocket-book, and placed it in a side-pocket by way of security. I saw I was observed by a suspicious-looking character, and soon after I was surrounded by at least fifty men, who hustled me in such a manner as to make my blood thrill with a sort of horrific sensation, though I had nothing valuable to lose, and I knew I was in no danger of personal injury. Expecting an attack, I made a vigorous resistance, and got through without loss; but I took good care for the remainder of the day not to expose myself again.

This attraction together of depredators is one of the many evils of such exhibitions; for it is not to be supposed they will separate without some detrimental consequences to the public, either immediate or in prospect; besides, the nursery and sphere of prize-fighting is one of gambling, profligacy, and crime.

If any one, bent on striving for mastery in a great career, could bring himself to undergo an equally strict preparatory discipline with that which a prize-fighter undergoes, and should in action husband in like manner his energies with reference to the one point in view, what is it that human nature, especially some natures, might not accomplish for their own glory, and the good of mankind?

In all cases of strict training, it seems essential that the person undergoing it should place himself under the absolute control of another, as the infirmity of our nature is not sufficiently proof against momentary impulses and temptations, and one deviation, however slight, would most probably lead to an indefinite backsliding.

Buffon, the great naturalist, relates that, being fond of his bed, he commissioned his confidential servant to force him to rise every morning at a certain very early hour, which injunction was so rigorously obeyed, that his most earnest entreaties on many occasions to be allowed a respite, could never prevail.

I believe, from experience, that two persons are much more likely to succeed conjointly in any plan of discipline, than one alone. There is a cheerfulness and a rivalry in such a combination, which are efficacious: and in many respects there are two chances to one of regu-

larity of operations. For this reason, I am inclined to think, that two young men, bent on worthy pursuits, would be more sure of going steadily and cheerily on by forming their habits together; and this subject of intimacies is one deserving the utmost attention of parents in bringing up their children, whether male or female.

In bodily training, regard must be had to the object in view. That which qualifies a pugilist, is totally unfit in degree, though perhaps not altogether in principle, for sedentary or studious occupations. The late Charles Skinner Matthews, the friend of Lord Byron, and celebrated by him, was distinguished for extraordinary powers of mental application. He conceived that he might be able to increase those powers to their greatest possible extent by going through a process of training, which he did, under the guidance of a well-known master of the art, to whom I have already alluded in this article, and who vouched to me for the truth of this statement. As study forms no part of pugilistic training, but would be destructive of it, young Matthews could form no idea of his growing aptitude or inaptitude in that respect till he made a trial. When he was told he was in a complete state, he shut himself up, and formally set forth his books. He then tried and tried to bring his mind to bear, but utterly in vain; and the experiment ended in his kicking over his reading apparatus with great force, and sallying forth in quest of some active adventure, for which alone he found he had made himself fit.

[ANOTHER PRIZE FIGHT.]

I never was at a prize-fight, but I confess that I have not been able to resist the temptation to read an account of one when I have come across it; nor have I been able wholly to sympathize with those who indignantly condemn these contests. To my mind the chief objection to them is not to be sought in the fights themselves, but in their surroundings. The ring, like the race-course, is attractive of mobs, and it has the special objection of reminding one more than is pleasant of the Roman amphitheatre and its atrocities. But there is one difference which should not be overlooked. The contests of the prize-ring are voluntary contests, fought with weapons which bruise and tear and dislocate, but rarely kill. As a rule, too, they do not brutalize the pugilists themselves. Having once been invited by a lawyer who had made man his development, and feats of strength and endurance his constant study, to meet Cribb and Gentleman Jackson at dinner, I can testify to their good manners and gentlemanly deportment.

We justify horse-racing, with all its obvious and acknowledged drawbacks and objections, on the ground that it improves the breed of horses. Surely something may be said of boxing as improving the

breed of men. The race-horse, like the prize ox at the cattle-show, reveals by an extreme case the good results of skilful training and careful feeding in thousands of horses and oxen that have never put in an appearance at race or show. The prize-fighter not only shows us, by an extreme case, what training can do for a man, but he is the teacher of a "noble art of self-defence," much less to persons of his own class than to the classes above him, in whose physical vigour and manly bearing the nation has a special interest. The knowledge that the art of self-defence has been largely acquired and practised by the gentlemen of England must act as a warning and restraint to the roughs that abound among the lower orders, and constitute so dangerous an element in all our mobs. These vile creatures carry about with them the wholesome suspicion that the quiet slim-looking gentleman whom they would fain insult, hustle, beat, and rob, may prove an awkward customer in a trial of strength; an able and willing protector of the weak and helpless.

We ought to pause, therefore, before we utterly condemn these pugilistic contests. One objection to them would disappear if the element of wrestling were eliminated, and the contest were reduced to one of blows; and another if an amphitheatre could be substituted for the open field.

This is a longer preface than I intended to write to an account of a prize-fight which I cut out of the *Standard* newspaper of August 7th, 1866. It seemed worth preserving as a good specimen of a species of contest which is fast fading into history—a specimen of which the less agreeable incidents are at least to some extent compensated by the touching incidents which bring it to a close.

The contest was for the champion's belt and 400*l.*; and the champions were Joe Goss and Jem Mace, the one as remarkable for endurance as the other for science. The newspaper accounts after describing the "toilette," the "stripping," and the "rubbing down," the muscular arms and brawny shoulders and equal height and size of the men, gives a description of their personal appearance. Goss, of fair complexion, countenance not prepossessing, and awkward in gait; Mace with the skin of a mulatto, a handsome face and good figure, the *beau idéal* of a highly-trained muscular man. Mace is described as keeping to the last what Goss soon lost—his temper; but the contest lasted thirty minutes, and was not decided till the twenty-first round. It was throughout a severe contest in which Goss had perhaps a slight advantage as a wrestler, while Mace asserted his superiority as a boxer. Into the details of the strife, of the blows struck, and the disfigurement they caused, I shall not enter; but the scene at the close deserves to be placed on record, if only to show with what generosity

and more than womanly tenderness such rough victors can treat a vanquished foe:—"When the victory was proclaimed, Mace rushed up to Goss, and extending his hand, bid him cheer up, kissing him at the same time on both cheeks. Goss, who could hardly see, burst into tears, and sobbed aloud at the defeat he had sustained. A collection was afterwards made for the losing man, Mace who had himself subscribed, going round with the hat."

How to Enjoy Life.—In order to enjoy the present, it is necessary to be intent on the present. To be doing one thing, and thinking of another, is a very unsatisfactory mode of spending life. Some people are always wishing themselves somewhere but where they are, or thinking of something else than what they are doing, or of somebody else than to whom they are speaking. This is the way to enjoy nothing, to do nothing well, and to please nobody. It is better to be interested with inferior persons and inferior things than to be indifferent with the best. A principal cause of this indifference is the adoption of other people's tastes instead of the cultivation of our own,—the pursuit after that for which we are not fitted, and to which, consequently, we are not in reality inclined. This folly pervades, more or less, all classes, and arises from the error of building our enjoyment on the false foundation of the world's opinion, instead of being, with due regard to others, each of our own world. The hunters after the world's opinion lose themselves in diffusion of society and pursuits, and do not care for what they are doing, but for what will be thought of what they are doing: whereas, compactness and independence are absolute essentials to happiness, and compactness and independence are precisely the two things which the generality of mankind most of all neglect, or even frequently study to destroy.

Courteous Forbearance.—A gentleman, making a morning call upon a late county member of great taste and scrupulous courtesy, was accompanied into a library by a beautiful kid, which he found standing at the street-door. During the conversation the animal proceeded round the room, examining the different objects of art with ludicrous curiosity, till coming to a small bronze statue, placed upon the floor, he made a butt at it, and knocked it over. The owner of the house taking no notice, his visitor observed, "That kid is a special favourite, I perceive; how long have you had it?" "*I* had it!" exclaimed the virtuoso, in an agony; "I thought it had been yours." "Mine!" said the gentleman, with no less astonishment; "it is not mine, I assure you." Whereupon they both rose, and by summary process ejected the intruder.

THE PHILOSOPHER AND THE MERCHANT.

Wisdom is the Science of Life.—In the capital of an eastern kingdom lived, many years since, Seid Ali, a man so devoted to science that he neglected everything else. He had made many profound and important discoveries, of which others had availed themselves to obtain distinction and wealth—whilst he was passing the meridian of life, his patrimony spent in experiments, his health impaired by study, his temper soured by neglect. He had for a neighbour and acquaintance Ghulam Hassan, known throughout the city by the appellation of the Honest Merchant. Hassan had begun the world with very little education and no money, but in recompense he had a straightforward understanding, quick observation, a very agreeable frankness of manner, and a heart without guile. Consequently he was universally courted, and though much given to hospitality and the performance of very generous acts, he had amassed a considerable fortune. To him in his extremity Seid disclosed all his griefs. When he had finished—

"I have a few friends coming to sup with me this evening," said Hassan; "be of the party, and when they are gone, we will talk of your affairs. In the meantime, take this purse for present exigencies. I will enable you soon to repay me. How it is to be done, I will endeavour to devise before we meet again. Only keep up your spirits, and all shall be well."

Kind intentions need no preface. The moment the guests were gone, Hassan began thus:—

"You see, my friend, you have kept yourself so much in your study, that yours is the fame of a dead man. You have caused vast benefits to be derived to the world, but the world has scarcely seen you, and, of course, never thinks of rewarding your merits. To remedy your error, I have planned a frolic, if you are not too proud to play your part in it; but I have observed, almost every man must stoop to rise, and happy he who can do so without dishonour. You remember our going this time two years to my little country place, near that singularity amongst us, the ancient aqueduct. I cannot tell you how much I was struck with your conjectures as to its origin, and your observations on its construction and materials. Now the old man who used to occupy my house, and accompany visitors to the ruins, is lately dead, and what I propose is, that you should disguise yourself and take his place. You know what an extensive acquaintance I have, and the terms upon which I live with them. I will take care to make parties to the aqueduct, and you in a homely garb shall be their guide.

Everything strikes by contrast, and a man of your attainments in such a situation cannot, by possibility, fail soon to attract sufficient notice to accomplish all you desire."

"I do not know——" said Seid, despondingly.

"I daresay you do not," interrupted Hassan; "but you know this, that with my little knowledge I have gained a fortune, and that with all yours you have lost one. In matters of science," continued he, bending low with unaffected homage, "I kiss the very ground you walk upon, but in practical matters you must put faith in me. Well-grounded faith, my friend, take the word of a successful man, has great virtue in other things besides religion. To-morrow I will arrange everything—not another word—good night, and may Heaven give you your deserts!"

Experience shows, that those who have fallen into a wrong train, frequently meet with nothing but an unbroken series of adverse circumstances. Let them but change their course, and the exact reverse becomes the case; everything turns to account. Just so it was with Seid. Being duly installed in his new office, his altered way of life quickly produced so great a change in his appearance, health, and spirits, that he scarcely needed any further disguise; and he felt, moreover, a degree of confidence in himself, of which previously he had no idea. Hassan made frequent parties on his account; and his fame spread so fast, that a visit to the aqueduct soon came into great vogue. As good fortune would have it, the Vizier himself, who used from time to time to pass an evening with Hassan in the disguise of a brother merchant, sent at this conjuncture notice of his approach. He found in Hassan's company an agreeable relaxation from the cares of government, and the sophistications of the world; besides which, he had looked in vain for any other man upon whose information and integrity he could implicitly rely. Hassan availed himself of the opportunity to induce the Vizier to accompany him on an early day to his country place, and he informed Seid that he was bringing a friend, with whom he particularly wished him to be well. The Vizier, though not scientific, delighted in the conversation of scientific men, and he had not long listened to Seid before he remarked to Hassan, "It strikes me this is a very extraordinary person. We are alone; is there any objection to his supping with us?"

"If it be your pleasure, none," said Hassan.

The scene around the house was lovely, the air cool and fragrant, the repast simple but refined, and without any state. The Vizier was in the best possible humour; and Seid, pleased with so acute and polished a hearer, rose above himself, till at last Hassan, suddenly bursting into a fit of laughter, cried out—

"Pardon me, but I can resist no longer."

Then rising up, he gravely added—

"I have extreme satisfaction in this opportunity of presenting to his highness the Vizier the philosopher Seid Ali." The surprise of the two was great, and the pleasure mutual. Hassan then related the history of the whole affair, and it will easily be supposed that from that time ample justice was done to the merits of his friend, and would have been to his own, but his reply to the Vizier's intimation was, "Whatever your goodness intends for me, bestow on Seid. He deserves everything, and I want nothing."

[The following extract from one of Spinoza's letters is in harmony with this Eastern story. It is therefore inserted here:—

"When certain friends reproached him (Thales of Miletus) with his poverty, he replied: 'Will you have me show you I could compass that which you pursue so eagerly, but which I think it not worth my while to win?' They assenting, he sent out and hired all the oil-presses in the country, his skill as an astronomer enabling him to foresee that the ensuing olive harvest, which had failed for several years before, would in the current year be abundant. Engaging the presses at moderate rates, he in a single season made an immense fortune, which he distributed with as great liberality as he had shown skill in its acquisition."

Good Feeling.—Soon after the battle of Waterloo, when so many maimed and wounded officers were to be seen in the streets, a gentleman passing along Bond Street was somewhat forcibly pushed against the wall by a porter. In the irritation of the moment he raised a small cane he had in his hand, and gave the porter a smart cut across the shoulders. The man instantly turned round and threw himself into an attitude of attack; but perceiving his adversary had lost his right arm he took off his hat, and, without saying a word, passed on his way.

Country Houses.—When I used to frequent country houses, I often heard complaints made of the difficulty of getting down London society, especially in parts remote from the metropolis. Invitations for a short period, it was said, are not worth accepting, and for a long one, except in particular cases, not desirable. The easiest remedy for this dilemma seems to be for persons acquainted with each other, who reside in the same part of the country, or on the same route, to make out lists of those they would wish to invite, and for what periods and at what times. Then, by a comparison, arrangements might often be made holding out sufficient inducements, and satisfactory to all parties.

[TWO GOOD STORIES.]

The first of these stories is by Voltaire, the second is related by Sydenham. Both, slightly abbreviated and altered, are from that learned, sensible, and amusing work, Paris's "Pharmacologia." "Eat a Basilisk, stewed in rose-water." Such was the advice of a physician to Ogul, a voluptuary ill from indolence and intemperance, and not very amenable to medical treatment. In vain did the slaves search for a *Basilisk*, until they met with Zadig, who, approaching Ogul, exclaimed, "Behold that which thou desirest; but, my lord," continued he, "it is not to be eaten; all its virtues must enter through thy pores. I have therefore enclosed it in a little ball, blown up, and covered with a fine skin. Thou must strike this ball with all thy might, and I must strike it back again, for a considerable time, and by observing this regimen, and taking no other drink than rose-water for a few days, thou wilt see and acknowledge the effect of my art." The first day Ogul was out of breath, and thought he should have died from fatigue; the second he was less fatigued, and slept better: in eight days he recovered all his strength. Zadig then said to him, "There is no such thing in nature as a Basilisk!—but *thou hast taken exercise and been temperate, and hast therefore recovered thy health!*"

Sydenham, the great physician, having long attended a gentleman of fortune with little or no advantage, frankly avowed his inability to render him any farther service, adding at the same time, that there was a physician of the name of Robinson, at Inverness, who had distinguished himself by the performance of many remarkable cures of the same complaint as that under which his patient laboured, and expressing a conviction that, if he applied to him, he would come back cured. This was too encouraging a proposal to be rejected; the gentleman received from Sydenham a statement of his case, with the necessary letter of introduction, and proceeded without delay to the place in question. On arriving at Inverness, and anxiously inquiring for the residence of Dr. Robinson, he found to his utter dismay and disappointment, that there was no physician of that name, nor ever had been in the memory of any person there. The gentleman returned, vowing eternal hostility to Sydenham; and on his arrival at home lost no time in expressing to him his indignation at having been sent on a journey of so many hundred miles for no purpose. "Well," replied Sydenham, "are you better in health?" "Yes, I am now quite well, but no thanks to you." "No," says Sydenham, "but you may thank Dr. Robinson for curing you. I wished to send you a journey with some object of interest in view; in going you had Dr. Robinson and his wonderful cures in contemplation; and in returning, you were equally engaged in thinking of scolding me."

NECESSITY.—If we were not obliged to do anything, we should do nothing. Our necessities start us, and habit and inclination keep us going, some at one rate, some at another, some to one distance, some to another. Our actual necessities teach us to create artificial ones, and they urge us on with fresh and greater force, till often the less we need, the more we strive, and at last some are found to reverse the order of things, and end by heaping up superfluities at the expense of their necessities; as misers starve themselves to death. Their necessities led them to acquire superfluities, and their superfluities lead them to disregard their necessities. They only are reasonable who never sacrifice the ends to the means, and are content with what may be termed the necessary superfluities; that is, such superfluities as can minister to their enjoyment, and which are not purchased with more labour than they are worth. It is true that, with many, acquisition becomes the enjoyment; and that if they were to cease to acquire they would cease to enjoy, whether in wealth or power; but it is a spurious enjoyment, which argues only a grovelling or grasping habit, unfitting declining years, which should be dedicated to other objects of contemplation.

THE SECRET OF BREVITY.—What an annoyance are long speakers, long talkers, and long writers!—people who will not take time to think, or are not capable of thinking accurately. Once when Dr. South had preached before Queen Anne, her Majesty observed to him, "You have given me a most excellent discourse, Dr. South; but I wish you had had time to have made it longer." "Nay, madam," replied the doctor; "if I had had time I should have made it shorter." The model of a debate is that given by Milton in the opening of the second book of "Paradise Lost."

THE SECRET OF HAPPINESS.—If you wish to be happy, have a small house and a large balance at your banker's; if you wish to be unhappy, adopt the opposite plan. But this rule is to be taken with reference to means. The principle applies, but not the degree, to the man of twenty thousand, and the man of two hundred a year. To be overhoused and underbalanced is an evil in all conditions, and disturbs both sound sleep and good digestion.

VIRGIL.—Dryden says of Virgil, "He dexterously managed both prince and people, so as to displease neither, and to do good to both; which is the part of a wise and an honest man, and proves that it is possible for a courtier not to be a knave."

ACQUAINTANCE.

Many people give themselves great uneasiness respecting the treatment they meet with from acquaintance; and that which should be a source of pleasure, is rather one of continual mortification and disappointment. This arises from a want of reflection, or want of knowledge of the world, or from not taking pains to strike a balance, or not knowing how to do it.

The strongest, and at the same time, the rarest reason for acquaintance, is sympathy of disposition, and that operates under all circumstances. Other reasons are merely accidental, and it requires judgment and temper to understand their force; as they seldom equally affect both parties, and, consequently, one party is very apt, on any change taking place, to feel aggrieved.

Accidental reasons for acquaintance, are neighbourhood, equality of station or fortune, similarity of trade, profession, or pursuit, the connecting link of a third person, a common interest on some particular occasion, temporary residence, and others not necessary to be enumerated. When a change takes place with respect to one party, and that party either is the superior, or, by the change, obtains any advantage of position, it is difficult, except amongst the very reasonable, to regulate future intercourse. There is danger of too much being expected on one side, and too little, either from apprehension or disinclination, being accorded on the other. For instance, if two people are acquainted from living in the same neighbourhood, and one quits for a better, the other will probably, without sufficiently adverting to circumstances, fancy neglect; if they both quitted for a better, the balance would adjust itself, and their intercourse would continue, cease, or be weakened, according to mutual convenience.

The same may be said of equality of station or fortune. Similarity of trade, profession, or pursuit, are great causes of acquaintance; but, being subject to change, the intercourse arising from them is liable, in like manner, to change. People are acquainted because they are merchants, lawyers, geologists, or fox-hunters, and their acquaintance varies with their occupation. New pursuits bring new connexions, and almost necessarily weaken the old ones.

Acquaintance arising from the connecting link of a third person, may very often be reasonably discontinued by the link being broken, though the inferior party may not be reasonable enough to admit it. A common interest on some particular occasion, as on an election, causes acquaintance, which it is frequently a matter of some difficulty to arrange after the occasion is over. That arising from temporary

residence is the most subject to produce dissatisfaction in its continuance under altered circumstances; as, to put one of the strongest cases, if a person, distinguished or sought after in London, visits some remote part of the country, where society is scarce, and the means of hospitality abundant, the mode of return is not very easy, from a want of knowledge of the world on one side, and an apprehension of annoyance on the other. The truth is, the society of the stranger ought to be considered as balancing, or nearly so, the cordiality of his reception; but his fear that it will not be so, prevents him from being commonly civil when he meets his entertainers on his own ground, and bitter are the mortifications in consequence.

I could enlarge upon these instances, or add to them, but I think they are sufficient for illustration; and my purpose is, to turn the attention of those of my readers, who have been sufferers, to the subject, in order that they may revolve in their minds how much of what they may have attributed to want of consideration, or to slight, has been the almost necessary result of circumstances, and I hope that in consequence they may be able to enjoy the advantages of acquaintance without any painful drawbacks. I will conclude with an anecdote in point, but which I do not recommend for imitation.

A distinguished ornament of London society, about half a century since, being at Bath, was accustomed to converse familiarly with a sort of small gentleman, who frequented the same bookseller's shop. Some time after his return to town, he was accosted in St. James's Street by his watering-place acquaintance. "I beg your pardon, sir," he replied, "but really I do not recollect to have seen you before." "Oh yes, you saw me at Bath." "I shall be most happy to see you at *Bath* again."

Injury and Insult.—People are generally very ready to put up with even intentional injury, when neither preceded nor followed by insult. I recollect a strong instance of this. A man applied to me for a warrant against another for knocking out one of his front teeth, which he held up before me. On my remarking upon his loss, he replied, "Oh! I should not have come for that, only he called me a thief." It is useful in going through life to bear in mind that courtesy to, and sympathy with, those we have accidentally injured, ordinarily diminish greatly the amount of reparation required, and sometimes even inspire as much goodwill as a benefit conferred.

Mob Flatterers.—The flatterers of kings and princes have ever been held in deserved hatred and contempt. In this country they seem nearly to have had their day, but their successors, the courtiers of the people, are equally contemptible, and much more pernicious.

LONDON IN TIMES PAST AND PRESENT.

Considering the enormous, and in many parts demoralized, population of London, it is quite marvellous there should be so little personal insecurity. I have been in the habit for many years of going about all parts of the town and the environs, at all hours, without any precaution, and I never experienced on any occasion the slightest molestation; and I scarcely ever met in society any one whose own actual experience was different.

It was not so formerly, as the following instances will serve to show. At Kensington, within the memory of man, on Sunday evenings a bell used to be rung at intervals to muster the people returning to town. As soon as a band was assembled sufficiently numerous to ensure mutual protection, it set off; and so on till all had passed. George the Fourth and the late Duke of York, when very young men, were stopped one night in a hackney coach, and robbed, on Hay Hill, Berkeley Square. To cross Hounslow Heath or Finchley Common, now both enclosed, after sunset, was a service of great danger. Those who ventured were always well armed, and some few had even ball-proof carriages. There is a house still standing, I believe, at Finchley, which in those days was the known place of rendezvous for highwaymen. Happily these things are now matters of history.

The standard of wealth is no less changed than the standard of safety. Tavistock Street, Covent Garden, was once the street of fashionable shops—what Bond Street was till lately, and what Bond Street and Regent Street together are now. I remember hearing an old lady say, that in her young days the crowd of handsome equipages in Tavistock Street was considered one of the sights of London. I have had the curiosity to stride it. It is about one hundred and sixty yards long, and, before the footways were widened, would have admitted three carriages abreast. Within memory the principal carriage approach to Old Drury Lane Theatre, the last but one before the present, was through that part of Drury Lane which is now a flagged foot-passage, and called Drury Court, just opposite the new church in the Strand. The ring in Hyde Park, so celebrated in old novels and plays, and so often the scene of duels, is still traceable round a clump of trees near the foot-barracks. It encloses an area of about ninety yards in diameter, and is about forty-five yards wide. Here used to assemble all the fashion of the day, now diffused round the whole park, besides what is taken off by the Regent's Park. At the rate the country is advancing in wealth, what will be the comparison at the

end of the next half century, and what will be the burden of the national debt?

I will add one more instance of change. A retired hackney coachman, giving an account of his life to a friend of mine, stated that his principal gains had been derived from cruising at late hours in particular quarters of the town to pick up drunken gentlemen. If they were able to tell their address, he conveyed them straight home; if not, he carried them to certain taverns, where the custom was to secure their property and put them to bed. In the morning he called to take them home, and was generally handsomely rewarded. He said there were other coachmen who pursued the same course, and they all considered it their policy to be strictly honest.

The bell at Kensington, the glories of Tavistock Street, and the coachmen's cruises, may all be referred back a little more than seventy years, and afford indisputable and consoling proofs of improvement in security, wealth, and temperance. I like to look at the bright side of things.

PREPARATION FOR ACTION.—In general the difficulty of doing anything chiefly lies in preparing to do it—in the proper training or acquiring an apt disposition of mind and body. What is difficult to do in one state it is difficult not to do in another; and this applies equally to the exercise of physical and mental faculties, to running or fighting, to speaking or composing. Plutarch says of Paulus Æmilius that he made little account of beating an enemy, compared with the bringing of his army into strict discipline; for he thought the one a certain consequence of the other. It is skill and resolution in acquiring the proper disposition to action that make life easy. This disposition is what is termed alacrity, and its opposite is that distressing repugnance, denominated nervousness, both depending upon the state of the digestive powers. Under one influence existence is a perpetual source of pleasure, and under the other an exhibition of pitiable weakness. These two states depend greatly upon natural constitution, but no less perhaps upon our own care.

SETTLEMENTS.—Nothing has conduced to unsettle the different classes in this country more than the attempts to settle them by family settlements, marriage settlements, and parish settlements. Lawyers thrive by them, but nobody else. I purpose to take occasion hereafter to examine into the nature and effects of these contrivances. [It is much to be regretted that the author did not live to carry this design into execution.]

THE PARKS.

It would be curious if London could be conjured back for a day or two to what it was only thirty years ago, that those of the present time might be aware of their advantages, as compared with those enjoyed even at that recent period. Amongst other changes, the pavements, independently of macadamization, have undergone immense improvements, and besides the widening of many of the principal streets, the art of driving must have made great progress, for in Fleet Street, in which the carriage-way has been in places narrowed, I remember it no uncommon occurrence to see stoppages for nearly an hour together, though now there is scarcely such a thing for five minutes, notwithstanding the introduction of omnibuses and cabs, and a great increase of private carriages, and of traffic of all sorts. I cannot account for this, unless that men's wits sharpen as occasion demands.

At that time the flagways were generally much narrower than they are now, and so ill laid, that what were called beau-traps were to be met with in almost every street: that is, loose flags, which, being pressed upon, splashed the leg up to the knee. I think even the term is now all but forgotten. The crossings were neither raised nor swept, and both carriage and foot-ways were so unskilfully laid, that they were scarcely ever free from mud.

To add to these inconveniences, the town was dimly lighted with oil, much more dimly than later, when improvements were introduced in opposition to gas.

The first exhibition of gas was made by Winsor, in a row of lamps in front of the colonnade before Carlton House, then standing on the lower part of Waterloo Place, and I remember hearing Winsor's project of lighting the metropolis laughed to scorn by a company of very scientific men. To the honour of the east, Finsbury Square was the first public place in which the new system was adopted; and, to the disgrace of the west, Grosvenor Square was the last.

But amongst the many improvements which have contributed to the convenience and ornament of the metropolis, none are more striking than those in the Parks. The state in which they are kept does great credit to those who have the management of them. The right-lined formalities of St. James's Park seemed almost to defy the efforts of taste; and I could not have conceived, that without any advantages of ground, the straight canal and unpromising cow-pasture could have been metamorphosed into so graceful a piece of water, and so beautifully varied a shrubbery. In walking round the water, almost at every step there is a new and striking point of view of buildings

and foliage. Buckingham Palace, Carlton Terrace, the Duke of York's Column, St. Martin's Church, the Horse Guards, Westminster Abbey, and other inferior objects, seen between and over the trees, form a combination and a variety I have never seen equalled.

I cannot help here noticing a nuisance and a drawback to the enjoyment of the place, which has lately arisen, and which I perceive is rapidly on the increase; I mean a number of persons of the lowest description standing and moving about with baskets of fruit. Two rows of them are allowed actually to obstruct the principal entrance into the interior of the garden, whilst others are spread in various directions, all incessantly calling out after the manner of a penny fair. If it is thought that thus vulgarizing a place which ought to be kept in a manner sacred, will be for the advantage of any class, it is a great mistake. The exhibition and noise last Sunday were quite disgraceful; and the innovation is really an insult to the respectable portion of the humbler classes, whose principal gratification almost in frequenting such a place is to witness, and feel themselves partakers of, the refinements of higher life. Through whatever channel the practice has crept in, I hope the proper authorities will soon put an end to it.

The widened, extended, and well-kept rides and drives in Hyde Park, with the bridge and the improvement of the Serpentine, and in other respects, form a most advantageous comparison with the former state; whilst the beauties of the Regent's Park, both as to buildings and grounds, seem like the effects of magic, when contrasted with the remembrance of the quagmire of filth, and the cow-sheds and wretched dwellings of which they occupy the place.

Amidst all these improvements it is to be lamented that the Green Park has been so much neglected, seeing that it is the most conspicuously situated, and, notwithstanding its inferior size, is by much the most advantageously disposed as to ground. There was a talk some years since of its being terraced in part, and wholly laid out in a highly ornamental style, which, by way of variety and with reference to its situation, seems a judicious plan. I would his Majesty would give orders to that effect; and then, as its present name would become inappropriate, it might be called after its Royal Patron.

It is to be hoped that whenever the opportunity occurs, the ranger's house will not be permitted to stand in the way of the very great improvement its removal would cause both to the Park and to Piccadilly. I do not believe there is any single thing that would add so much to the ornament of London, as the embellishment of the Green Park, to the extent of which it is capable.

What a pity it is that the original design of making a gradual descent from Waterloo Place into St. James's Park, was not allowed

to be carried into execution! Besides the beauty of the plan, a horse entrance there would have been such an immense convenience to such a numerous class. As it is now out of the question, the nearest practical approach to it seems to be by the macadamization of Pall-mall, with an entrance to the Park, if that could be permitted, between Marlborough House and the Palace. I do not know how that would affect the Palace, but if it would be no inconvenience to Royalty, it certainly would be a great boon to the equestrian public. As to the pavement in Pall-mall, a more stupid obstruction, I think, cannot well be conceived, and the removal of that, even with the present entrance to the Park, would be a very considerable improvement.

FALSE NOTIONS OF POVERTY.—"Poverty is no crime," is a common saying in the mouths of the indolent and the improvident; nine times out of ten, I believe, it approaches very near. But poverty proper is a disease nearly worn out in this country, and its place is supplied by pauperism, or the spirit of dependence, on which I have remarked in a former publication. "Of all taxes upon means—of all clogs to self-advancement—of all drawbacks upon enjoyment, assuredly the dependence of those who ought to depend upon themselves, is the heaviest and most irksome. No station in life is too high—none too low—to escape this scourge. The peer of princely fortune, the frugal tradesman, and the industrious labourer,—each in his degree, is haunted, threatened, importuned, and preyed upon. To avoid this fate, how many are afraid to accumulate! how many give up in despair!—how many, seeing ruin inevitable, prefer to ruin themselves, and plunge into that state it would have been the labour of their lives to avoid! The most accurate description of English poverty I ever heard, was from a beggar-boy in Italy, who accosted me at the door of a post-house, whilst I was waiting for horses. He made some observations, which led me to ask him if he thought there were no poor in England: to which he replied, "Oh! yes, yes; but in England they are all rich poor—in Italy we are poor poor."

GRUMBLERS.—There is a sect, unfortunately well-known to most in this land, under the denomination of Grumblers, whose fundamental maxim is—whatever is, is wrong. Wherever they are found, and they are found almost everywhere, they operate as a social poison; and though they contrive to embitter the enjoyments of everybody about them, they perpetually assume that themselves are the only aggrieved persons, and with such art as to be believed, till thoroughly known. They have often some excellent qualities, and the appearance of many amiable ones; but rank selfishness is their chief characteristic, accom-

panied by inordinate pride and vanity. They have a habit of laying the consequences of their own sins, whether of omission or of commission, upon others; and, covered with faults, they flatter themselves they "walk blameless." Where their selfishness, pride, or vanity are interested, they exhibit signs of boundless zeal, attention, and affection, to which those, who are not aware of their motives, are the dupes; but the very moment their predominant feelings are offended, they change from April to December. They have smiles and tears at command for their holiday humour; but in "the winter of their discontent," there is no safety from the bitterest blasts. Their grievances are seldom real, or if real, are grossly exaggerated, and are generally attributable to themselves; for, absorbed in their own feelings, they are wonderful losers of opportunities. In conclusion, I think it would be for their advantage, as it certainly would be for that of the rest of the world, if they were made subject to some severe discipline; and I would suggest for the first, second, and third offence, bread and water and the treadmill, for one, two, and three months respectively; for the fourth offence, transportation for seven years to Boothia Felix, or some such climate; and any subsequent delinquency I would make capital, and cause the criminal to be shut up with some offender in equal degree, there to grumble each other to death.

MARRIAGE IN LOW LIFE.—A few days since when sitting on the bench, I received the following note from a clergyman:—"W. B. is in custody on a charge of drunkenness. He is wanted here to be married. If his case will allow, discharge him, that he may be at church before twelve o'clock." It then only wanted a quarter, so I had the prisoner brought up immediately, and finding his offence was not of a very grave nature, in consideration of the feelings of his intended, I let him go, under a promise that he would return to be judged. He was as good as his word; indeed I am not sure that the police did not keep an eye upon him. It appeared that in order to make the most of his last moments of bachelorship, he had gone with three companions to Astley's Theatre, thence to supper, and was finishing his amusements with knocking at doors and ringing of bells, when he was captured at three o'clock in the morning after an assault upon a policeman. From church his wife attended him to the office, and waited, I suppose with anxiety, the result of my decision, which was a fine of five shillings. This is rather an extreme case; but I am afraid that marriage amongst the very lowest classes is in general a very thoughtless, joyless affair from beginning to end.

TEMPERANCE AND EXERCISE.—Temperance makes the faculties clear, and exercise makes them vigorous; it is temperance and exercise united, that can alone ensure the fittest state for mental or bodily exertion.

AN EXECUTION.

Amid the varied scenes of this vast metropolis, there is probably none so striking as an interior view of an execution at the Old Bailey. Being desirous to witness the effect of the punishment of death, I once accompanied one of the sheriffs, on a cold winter's morning, to see three men executed. We arrived between seven and eight o'clock, and were shown into the press-room, a low, gloomy chamber. Two of the men, having attempted to escape, were heavily ironed. Each placed his foot upon an anvil, whilst a smith, with a large hammer, and great force, drove the rivets out. The sound was awful. One of the criminals, who had confessed to a hundred burglaries, I had myself committed for trial. He was a fine-looking man of nine-and-twenty, but so altered that I could scarcely trace his former features; and I was informed that, even in the most hardened, nature generally gives way in the last four-and-twenty hours, and suffers dreadful wreck. When the three were pinioned, the procession set slowly forward along the dark and narrow passages, a bell dismally knolling, and the Ordinary reading portions of the burial-service. A few minutes after the drop fell we retired, as is the custom, to breakfast in what is called the Lord Mayor's parlour. The Ordinary presided in full canonicals, and kept our attention alive by anecdotes connected with the occasion. On his right sat the City Marshal, in military uniform. The Sheriffs wore their massive gold chains, and the two Under-Sheriffs were in court dresses, contrasted with whom was a gentleman of peculiarly primitive appearance and attire—a constant attendant. The group, the time of day, the occasion, formed a combination altogether singular. After the lapse of an hour, the Sheriffs were summoned to see the bodies cut down, and I was surprised to find the countenances as placid as after natural death.

Life.—Life without some necessity for exertion must ever lack real interest. That state is capable of the greatest enjoyment where necessity urges, but not painfully; where effort is required, but as much as possible without anxiety; where the spring and summer of life are preparatory to the harvest of autumn and the repose of winter. Then is every season sweet, and in a well-spent life the last the best—the season of calm enjoyment, the richest in recollections, the brightest in hope. Good training and a fair start constitute a more desirable patrimony than wealth; and those parents who study their children's welfare rather than the gratification of their own avarice or vanity, would do well to think of this. Is it better to run a successful race, or to begin and end at the goal?

Take care, or care will take you.

A little method is worth a great deal of memory.

The taxes of State are more oppressive that the State taxes.

State, without the machinery of state, is of all states the worst.

Private comfort and public magnificence constitute the perfection of society.

The cheapest government is not the best, but the best government is the cheapest; that is, God's few at the top, well paid by God's many.

Cheap government is only sound when it means the best government on the lowest terms.

Philosophy is a fire of rotten sticks flickering in a desert, with all around cold and dark. Religion is the glorious sun, cheering and illuminating universally.

To be equal to every occasion is glorious; but to do more than the occasion requires is vainglorious.

Freedom, like health, can only be preserved by exercise.

Pauperism is a monster which looms large through the mist of ignorance and misconception.

Mere authority prevails only as it presses; but authority joined with worth dispels disorder, and clears the moral atmosphere.

Pleasure alone is sauce without meat, and soon palls; business alone is meat without sauce, and is equally dry; but the two together have the true relish.

Many stumble at the first step, by fixing their eyes on the summit; but it ought never to be forgotten that there is a summit to be aimed at.

It is equally unwise to treat children as if they were men, or as if they were never to become so.

They alone are in their hearts grateful for assistance who are really striving for themselves—the traveller fainting on his journey, and not the beggar by the wayside.

The vital maxim of the worshippers of liberty is the Christian one—Do unto others as ye would they should do unto you.

Poverty is a sound vessel empty, but pauperism is not only empty but cracked.

True courage is that which is not afraid of being thought afraid; the rest is counterfeit.—Such for the most part is duelling courage.

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